A WAKING WORLD

BY STANLEY HIGH

Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
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EUROPE TURNS THE CORNER
PIONEERS OF THE KINGDOM
THE REVOLT OF YOUTH
YOUTH LOOKS AT THE CHURCH

A WAKING WORLD

Christianity Among the Non-White Races

BY

STANLEY HIGH

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	A World Awakens	9
II.	Adjustments	18
III.	Africa Civilization—For Good or Ill?	43
IV.	India The Fruits of Hinduism	68
V.	India What Christianity Offers India	86
VI.	Malaya Christianity at the Cross Roads of the East	110
VII.	The Philippines Christianity Making a Nation	126
VIII.	China A Christian Apologetic	144
IX.	China To Recant or Testify	165
X.	Korea Geography and a Challenge	182
XI.	Japan Christianity and the Leadership of Asia	199
XII.	America First?	220

15296

INTRODUCTION

As corresponding secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we very heartily commend A WAKING WORLD. The preparation of such a book was authorized by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which granted Mr. High leave of absence for a visit to Africa, India, Malaya, and the Far East, during which the material was gathered. The officers of the Board assisted in raising funds from friends for this purpose. We have read and discussed the manuscript with great interest. We do not necessarily agree with every point of view or every proposition that is set forward. We believe, however, that this book contains material not usually presented which throws light upon missionary policies. Every plan and policy and the results and failures accruing should be freely and frankly discussed by the church and corrected or modified when deemed advisable. In our judgment this book is a vital contribution to such frank and open discussion. It will be of value to all those who believe that the kingdom of God can be established among men.

RALPH E. DIFFENDORFER.
JOHN R. EDWARDS.

CHAPTER I

A WORLD AWAKENS

THIS is said to have happened in Shanghai in the spring of 1927:

The Chinese city—beyond the barbed wire, the sand-bag barricades and the machine-gun implacements of the International Settlement—was in a state of patriotic frenzy Out along the road past the Lung Hwa pagoda the nationalists were coming. The northern troops of Sun Chuan Fang had held a last orgy of beheadings and scampered away to safety. Within an hour of their going the city was decked out in the Blue Sky, White Sun flag of the new revolution. There were impromptu mass meetings. Patriots of the new order—who had escaped with their heads from the ruthlessness of Sun—harangued the crowds. And new China, from barefooted coolies to long-gowned students, went on holiday to welcome "the Deliverers."

A European in the international settlement hustled out of his office bent on urgent business. He hailed a ricksha to the curb, jumped into it, and with the inevitable "chop chop" was pulled into the wild swirl of Shanghai's traffic. As he went along he dexterously guided the coolie with his cane: a tap on the left hip for a right turn, a tap on the right hip for a left turn.

Fifteen minutes later he was at his destination. But the coolie, misunderstanding his command to stop, swung abruptly into another street. The Euro-

pean, still hustling, used his cane again, this time with vigor. The coolie, panting from his run, his face streaming perspiration, looked around at his white overlord and with a shrill curse released the ricksha and walked away. The result, as anyone familiar with the construction of rickshas will understand, was disastrous. With a vast clatter the vehicle collapsed. And the European, with great suddenness, found himself precipitated into an undignified and a wholly untenable position.

The spirit of the new China, some way, had slipped through the barbed-wire barricades.

That new spirit has crossed the non-white world. The old docility has collapsed. Men of yellow and black and brown skins are hard at work to cut the apron strings that have bound them to the men of white. They are learning to dispense with the white man at the other end of their porridge spoons.

I found that the Africans who carried my luggage on their heads, the Indians who served my meals, the Chinese coolies who padded along between the shafts of my rickshas would still take my orders and bow and scrape with their bodies. But they no longer bow and scrape with their spirits. With their spirits they are learning to walk uprightly, as men. And if, because of economic pressure, they are still obliged to pawn their bodies at the white man's counters, their minds are no longer for sale there. With their minds they are off dreaming and drilling and going to night school, preparing themselves for the day when their hands and feet will be as much unshackled as their spirits already are.

And neither the European's canes nor his gunboats are so potent now to cow them. As a result

the white man's ancient vehicles, after the manner of the Shanghai ricksha, are being overturned. He is finding himself, of a sudden, in an undignified and a wholly untenable position. The history of this present period will contain no more picturesque chapter than that which describes the white man's scramble to a new status where, in the face of the rising tide of race consciousness, his equilibrium can be maintained.

But there is more than independence among non-white peoples. There is a growing solidarity. Men of one race, struggling to be free, have looked up to discover that everywhere, across the world of color, men are similarly striving. There are common hopes and, in the white man's domination, a common obstacle. A common consciousness, therefore, is being born.

I sat one day in the office of Dr. A. Abdurahman in the city of Cape Town. In Cape Town Doctor Abdurahman is a practicing physician. Throughout South Africa he is the dynamic spokesman for the non-white population. He is an Indian and a Moslem, yet for many years he has been president of the famous A. P. O., the African Political Organization, the members of which are Negro and largely Christian.

Doctor Abdurahman explained to me that his leadership in the A. P. O. was merely a pointed indication that the native question in South Africa was one with similar questions in India and China and the Dutch East Indies.

"They are different," he said, "only in the matter of geography. Once we have overcome this physical separateness, our problem will be simplified. We

will be able, then, to act in that kind of an effective community in which, in spirit, our hopes and fears have already joined us."

In India I visited the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. In the late afternoon he called me to his office. It was an ascetic place. The walls were whitewashed and bare; the carpet was of blue homespun, considerably worn. Mr. Gandhi threw the khadar scarf from his shoulders and sat, his feet curled under him, on a white cushion on the floor. His desk, an unpainted square platform about ten inches high, was well littered with mail and manuscripts. I sat on the floor beside him while he drew up his spinning wheel and to its rythmic clicking talked of the new India.

"But there is nothing unique in our situation," he concluded. "Just take a look at the map. The white man is having trouble wherever he has enthroned himself among non-white peoples. His troubles will increase. What we men of color are having difficulty accomplishing separately we may learn, one of these days, to do together."

The tragic outbreak in Nanking, China, occurred in March, 1927. With gunboats in the Yangtze and marines in Shanghai the affair seemed fairly well localized But appearances were deceptive. News that the gunboats had fired upon Nanking was flashed broadcast. Around the corner of the world, at Singapore, Indians and Chinese joined in a riotous protest. The military took summary action. But it is safe to say that in countless centers from Cairo to Cape Town and back across Asia another bond was added at Nanking which, for good or ill, will strengthen this worldwide fellowship of unrest.

In this kind of a world—self-conscious and with

common aspirations to be free—there are still those who debate the capacity of non-white peoples to establish the ideals for which they aspire. Such debate is worse than academic. Whether able or not, the movements which, one day, will inevitably bring self-determination are already under way. The men of color—two thirds of the human race—have set their own feet on a road of their own choosing and are moving out to a new day, and all the power and prestige of the Western world are impotent to stop their march. It is only within our power to determine whether the victories of that new day shall be purchased with our co-operation or at our expense. We of the West cannot stop; we can only help to direct.

Woodrow Wilson once remarked that it is one thing for a people to win their independence and quite another thing for them to determine what to do with it. The non-white world has chosen to be free. It has not yet chosen the principles that shall dominate its freedom. In that choice a major portion of the history of the next century or two is critically involved.

But the time of choosing is at hand, and there are many gods and gospels, each seeking to be served.

There are the gods of Asia's ancient civilizations. What do they offer for the future? Their modern prophets answer, with intelligent insistence, that they afford a sufficient panacea and an acceptable way of life. In support of these contentions there are widespread movements of reform. The Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj in Hindu India are expressions of the determination to bring Hinduism abreast of the modern world, revitalize it in terms

of that world's problems and empower the life of India at its rejuvenated shrines. Similarly, the new Buddhism of Japan offers an old gospel in up-to-date apparel. The images of the Buddhist Reformation reveal a god who, instead of staring into space, looks at the people. Instead of sitting, he is often carved as a standing figure. The god of the new age in contrast to the immobile Buddha of history, must be an active deity.

In a vast renovation, old structures that have housed old civilizations are being cleaned, repaired, and redecorated, and offered, in modern garb, as adequate for the new day.

There are those too who offer to non-white peoples the gospel of Marxian Communism. This panacea is simple and to the point. The most pressing problem for the world's common people is that of food and shelter. The Communists, denouncing the West's conventional policy of evasion, prescribe for the proletariat that they must organize to take what they do not possess and for the lack of which they live in need. They insist that the Kingdom of the New Earth can never be established until, out of a process of class hatred and violence the dictatorship of the proletariat is founded as firmly and as ruthlessly as that of the bourgeoisie has been.

This gospel has won a significant following. The miniature revolution in Java in the fall of 1926 was an expression of Communist zeal. When I visited Kyoto, Japan, a few months later thirty-eight students, taken from Imperial Universities, were on trial. It was charged that they were Communist converts who had organized groups among the students of the country for the red evangelization of Japan.

In China, at the same time, Chinese Communists allied with their comrades from Moscow were proving powerful enough to split the nationalist movement.

The number of those who believe that for its salvation the new non-white world must choose to go the way that the Communists direct is not inconsiderable.

Meanwhile, the white exploiter, by example, offers his own ideals. The creed of power and possession finds an eloquent apologetic wherever rifles and armored cars and gunboats maintain the European in a place of privilege and contribute to the speedier increase of his fortune. The white man, by virtue of his military prowess, proclaims the world his own and himself its master. And the African or the Indian or the Chinese who watches him thus, mightily, tread the earth, begins to believe that, by following the same gospel of selfishness and force, he too can have his day of ascendency.

In pacifist India a movement is under way to bring about widespread military training for Indian youth. The man who is largely responsible for the direction of this movement explained to me that "Great Britain's military control of the country has emasculated the Indian people. We need to learn to carry arms. We need not only an army, but a navy. Then, when we are strong, we can walk, before the world, with our heads up."

Wherever one goes through the non-white world the example of Japan is continually referred to.

"Japan," one is told, "was no better off than other peoples of the East until she proved herself fit to fight; fit, not only to fight Asiatics, but Western

nations. Now, as a result of her demonstration of fitness in the war with Russia, she is allowed to enjoy the fruits of equality."

However many factors were actually involved in Japan's advance, this element of military fitness is generally considered to the exclusion of all others.

By the white man's own precedents, therefore, non-white people are confronted, these days, with his gospel of materialism. The belief is increasing that it provides the most certain foundation on which to build the future.

But this awakening world is confronted also with the Christian gospel. It is the implication of that gospel that the domination of the world cannot, permanently, be both white and Christian. The New Testament establishes a Divine relationship for the individual, whatever his race or station, that inevitably arouses hope in those who are oppressed and gives their awakened aspirations the indorsements of religion.

I heard a Negro choir one Sunday morning sing in their tribal language to a great audience of native Christians:

"I'm the child of a King,
The child of a King;
With Jesus my Saviour,
I'm the child of a King."

Faith in that doctrine, however simple at the outset, leads eventually to self-respect and the ideals of equality and self-determination. It follows that Africans or Indians or Chinese, convinced that they are the children of God, are likely to desire and, finally perhaps, demand an earthly treatment in keeping with their heavenly status.

But Christianity is more than a source of the aspirations of non-white peoples. It is also a power and an organizing principle for the making of a world in which those aspirations can come to their fulfillment. There are, in fact, many indications that Christianity provides the only force potent enough for this regenerative task. It is unquestionably a conviction of the uniqueness of his faith that lies at the basis of the Christian's belief in an earthly kingdom of heaven and accounts, in large measure, for his support of a foreign-missionary enterprise that seeks its establishment.

But there is no lack of alternatives to the gospel that Christians should reconsider the significance certainty that in the end it will prevail. The non-white world, in this period, has come to a time of choosing. It is of particular importance, therefore, that Christians should reconsider the significance of their world-wide program and the nature of the faith it offers. Moreover, there is every indication that the choices which, finally, are made in Africa and Asia will be first determined at the altars of the Christian West.

CHAPTER II

ADJUSTMENTS

I HAVE a friend who flew during the Great War as an observer with the Italian air force. He went over the lines with his pilot one day to map a certain sector of Austrian entrenchments. On the way-back, his map complete, the pilot ran into range of a battery of anti-aircraft guns. One of the control wires of the plane was shot away. Something had to be done without delay. To land, in Austrian territory, was the obvious and easy thing. That, doubtless, is what would have been done had there been nothing important at stake. But the pilot knew that the advance of the division required the map that my friend had made. So he turned over the controls to him, climbed out to the wing tip of the plane, and, leaning there three thousand feet above the trenches, repaired the ship in flight.

The foreign missionary enterprise—by which Christians are offering their gospel as an adequate foundation for the new world—is in something of the position of that plane. The thing to do, according to some observers, is to call off the flight. That might be easy, even though it would not be safe. Just what is actually done will depend, I believe, upon the importance of the things at stake and the courage of the individuals at the controls.

In the succeeding chapters of this book it is my purpose to indicate how important are the things at stake. If, in this, I point to some of the things that

seem to need repair, it is not because I doubt the courage of those who are at the controls, but because I believe that the advance of Jesus' world program requires that the repairs shall be made in flight.

Nor have I any desire to add my word to those whose comments lead to the assumption that the most striking thing about the foreign missionary enterprise is its deficiencies. If that were the case, the remaining chapters of this book, which will be concerned with Christian achievements, could not, honestly, be written. There are faults in the world-wide machinery of Christianity. They need attention. But there is significance—a far greater significance—in the contributions of Christians abroad to the task of world redemption. The church of the West cannot allow the noise of its tinkering to drown out the voice of this testimony.

I met a great many Christians from Africa to Japan and made a great many inquiries. One question, however, recurred more frequently than any other:

"Do you still need missionaries?"

Without exception, the answer was: "Yes, we still need missionaries," and after a pause, "of the right kind"

That last phrase, "of the right kind," makes a more than incidental difference. Missionaries no longer go out alone, to stand in isolation in an alien and hostile world. They go, rather, to a world that is knit into a neighborhood, in which the Christian pioneers of other days have already laid foundations and gathered together companies of believers. To most of the members of these Christian communities

the advance of the Christian faith is of as much concern as it is to the missionary. The Christian enterprise, therefore, is not something of ours that we take to them. It is something of theirs that we help them to extend and vitalize.

North American Protestantism, for more than a century, has been engaged in this world-Christianizing business. The fruits of that labor, for several decades, appeared in the record of the changed lives of individuals who were added, one by one, to the small company of believers. That was a heroic period for the missionary. His successes, by all normal standards, were paltry. But he was laying foundations. And he carried on at that until, from meager beginnings, a new enterprise has appeared. Foreign missions has developed into world Christianity.

Ten years ago I traveled overland in West China between the cities of Chungking and Chengtu. A veteran missionary in our party had made the journey, by the same style coolie caravan, thirty years before. Our party in every fair-sized village was met by a company of Christians and was lodged every night in a Christian church. But this missionary in the ten days' journey three decades before had not met a single Christian.

This changed situation has altered both the status of the missionary and the character of his work. And Christian nationals, because they have learned to think for themselves; because they know the life of the land and its civilization; and most of all because they share the missionary's zeal for the Christian faith, believe that they have the right to specify as to the future. And their specifications, I believe,

need to be widely and sympathetically heard, for the changes that they involve, with few exceptions, are for the obvious strengthening of the Christian enterprise.

First, there is the problem of superiority and the demand that the missionary shall live as kinsman with those among whom he works.

By this it is not proposed that the missionary shall live in precisely the same manner as the Christian national: wear his style clothes, eat his style food, and live in his style house. With little doubt, however, the overshadowing missionary residences that one often sees are involved in this. Schools and churches—the production of the enterprise—might well be put more often in the forefront of mission compounds instead of the foreign residence that so frequently is found there.

That change, to be sure, is beginning to come. The residences, for example, at Yenching University in Peking, are built in Chinese fashion. There is no distinction between the homes of Chinese and foreign faculty members. Similarly, in other fields I have recently seen plans for missionary homes built in strictly national style. One undeniable barrier between the people and the missionary is, by that fact, removed.

But Christian kinship is not compounded out of meals and lodging. An individual with an attitude of superiority might live as the lowliest Indian sadhu and yet be a gulf removed from the people—as, for that matter, most sadhus are.

Neither is this specification a matter of terminology. One discovers, in the language of Christians, a great deal of "Brother this" and "Sister that." But these

are often expressions of a formula rather than reflections of an attitude. To the alert national the language of fellowship is not for long confused with its spirit. And it is the kindred spirit in contrast to the spirit of superiority that he looks for in the missionary.

To live as kinsman to those with whom he works is a hard undertaking. In fact, no other Westerners—traders, travelers, officials—ever even consider the question, save to ridicule those missionaries who take it seriously. There is every influence to lead to the answer that I heard propounded in many places: "That may be all right at home. Out here, of course, things are different."

Things *are* different. But the inquiring national wonders how different they would be for Jesus. Every young recruit is bound to run, head on, into that question on the mission field. His answer may make his own social station more comfortable. But it may have a serious effect, in the minds of earnest inquirers, upon the status of Jesus. If the Christian's missionary gospel is the solvent for racial animosities, how, save by the example of the missionary, can it be made operative?

Unfortunately, in some cases, it is not being made operative. And so far as I know the only way to alter that fact is to face it. The attitudes of superiority that are revealed here are the exception rather than the rule. A great majority of the missionaries are honestly concerned to live their lives in Christian fellowship with the nationals. Their work constitutes the most significant of the achievements that are set forth later in this book. Further, the attitude of superiority on the

mission field is not a peculiar failing of the missionary. It is a reflection, in a situation where it is more easily observable, of that superiority which is often the normal attitude of Christians in the West.

But the problem none the less is inescapable.

In one of the first mission stations that I visited two native preachers came to call. They were received and interviewed in the kitchen because, as it was explained to me, "We consider it poor policy to invite natives into the parlor."

And a few days later, at another station, one of the rural preachers, a young man with a remarkable story, was called to the missionary's residence. We met on the porch. I offered him a chair. There was an embarrassed scramble among the household and a stool was hastily substituted. And he sat there at my feet while we talked. I was informed, after he had gone, that "We can't really let the natives have chairs. It is too apt to spoil them."

In another part of the world our hostess, finding Mrs. High one day seated on the kitchen steps vigorously cleaning a pair of white shoes, rushed to the rescue with the reprimand: "You must never be seen in that attitude by a native. You would lose standing. That is the attitude the natives must take toward you."

In this same general latitude I made an appointment to see the outstanding native preacher, a man of exceptional ability and high standing. When I started for his residence the missionary stopped me.

"This isn't the way to handle these people. You should never go to them. They must come to you," he said.

And when I finally reached the preacher's home I

discovered, in short order, the effect of that particular kind of "handling."

"I am never allowed to forget—none of us is—that we are on the receiving and you are on the giving end, and that our status is fixed by that fact."

Then he told me this incident—it was one among several:

"On a recent Sunday in our church we held a baptismal service. Several Asiatic children and a missionary's child were presented at the altar. One after another the Asiatic pastor baptized the Asiatic infants. When it came to the white child, however, a white missionary was summoned from the audience to perform the service." Then he asked, "Can you wonder that we sometimes doubt the validity of the thing you have brought us?"

It would be refreshing if one discovered in regard to the elimination of this evil some of the zeal that is employed in regard to other violations of the Christian code. I recall the story of a missionary leader who went through Japan en route to his field, where he was to occupy a position of great responsibility. Anti-Japanese propaganda, at that time, was rife in the United States. This man—bent on a Christian mission—refused to allow his wife to go ashore "among these Japs," and he, in all seriousness, besought a Japan missionary to tell him whether or not he actually believed that any of the Japanese became *real* Christians.

I talked one day with one of the outstanding Christian nationals of India. He, as an active churchman, put a number of questions.

"Why," he asked, "do the missionaries put up huge

signboards on their compound gates with their names inscribed upon them and never include the name of the Indian pastor who may be living in the same compound? Why do they drive their cars, the horns honking horribly, through the narrow streets of the bazaars where the people have to push and clutch their children and crowd against the shop walls to avoid being hit? I know the peculiar Indian curses that follow them. Why, when our Conferences meet, do the missionaries follow the custom of holding, each night in some missionary home, their private meetings while the Indians are consigned to tents or the open air, or unheated dormitories? These are small things. But they constitute the reasons for a rising tide of resentment in the Indian church."

And these instances may suffice to indicate that the problem of superiority does exist. Its existence, since it does violence to the Christian message, does damage to the Christian enterprise. Its solution is imperative and, I believe, no more difficult than some other questions of fitness that have been adequately handled. I can imagine with what alacrity the mission organizations would rid themselves of a missionary drunkard or drug addict. They need to be rid, in even more summary fashion, of those who fail in the matter of kinship. The reason the riddance does not take place is not because the difficulty is greater but because the conviction is less pronounced.

In the chapters that follow I hope to indicate how earnest is my belief in Christian missions. It should also be plain from those chapters that I believe the missionary to be indispensable to the work of Chris-

tianizing the world. But it is a denial rather than an affirmation of these convictions to present only the conventionally favorable facts and to gloss over the inescapable belief that, for the salvation of our world opportunity, the attitude of superiority needs to be torn out, root and branch, as we would tear out any social immorality.

Second, there is the problem of the standards of success. I do not believe that a satisfactory account of the progress of Christianity abroad can be prepared from so simple a volume as the arithmetic. In most mission fields there is now a rather large baptized community. Some, probably most, of our missionary effort—and this is particularly true in regard to India—is expended on behalf of the increase of the Christian community. The results, often, are very imposing.

But those whose support or lack of it will determine the nature of the foreign-mission program for the next fifty years may be interested in another aspect of this community than its size or increase. They may ask, not how many have been baptized, but how many of those baptized have been made really Christian. That question can hardly be answered by citing the notable instances of individuals who have been brought, miraculously, from the lowest of the low to places of useful leadership. It can be answered chiefly in terms that are community wide. We have raised up leaders. We required them. But it may be pointed out that the purpose for which we required them, in many places, was that of increase in numbers.

And this problem of the standards of success is not alone numerical. It is financial. It is not an

adequate description of the significance of Christianity, on any particular field, to list the mission investment in houses and lands. But the attempt, very often, is made. The missionary, here, is the victim, not of his own peculiar weaknesses, but of the property lust that tends to grip the Western church. Religious advance, particularly in America, is more and more identified with material elaborateness. If enormous churches and equally enormous parish houses were necessary marks of Christian progress, one could settle back in the United States confident that the Kingdom was at hand. Unfortunately, however, the task of making the church a regenerative influence is much more difficult than that of providing commodious quarters for its services. But it is this feeling that housing, rather than production, is a matter of first concern that has gone out from the West into the mission field.

One is taken from station to station to view "our splendid building valued at this," or to look over "the superior location of our property, valued at that." It is sometimes necessary to persist with one's inquiries about the sort of folks. It is seldom necessary even to inquire about the sort of property.

And one can easily understand the source of this pride. The missionary's life blood has been expended to secure funds to establish institutions that, physically, will be worthy of the gospel that is preached and taught in them. But there is a close-to-the-people ministry that, very often, becomes more difficult as the Christian's establishment becomes more elaborate. The missionary program, I believe, is less developed at the point of social, community-

wide service than at any other. The major evil that afflicts most of those who live in the non-white world is economic. The major problem that confronts most of the people among whom our missionaries serve is "When do we eat?" Any extension of investment that makes it more difficult to face that problem in a practical, close-to-the-soil manner diverts energy from what is one of the first of our Christian obligations.

One reason, I believe, why Christianity in Africa is so vital and so significant in community-wide terms is that the missionary enterprise there has never been under the spell of vast investments. Whatever was done had to be done close to the people and with the simple facilities that the people themselves had at their disposal. The result is that, in Africa, communities are appearing which, from their very foundations, are Christian, built by Christians out of the usually crude materials that were at hand.

Financial support for the advance of Christ's world program is needed now as never before. But those who give their money need to understand and to emphasize that the buildings that they may erect are not an end in themselves. Furthermore, on the mission field the capacity of nationals for Christian leadership should not longer be judged in terms of their financial ability to swing these vast and necessary institutions. Finally, the administration of the funds for property increases should be directed in such a way as to facilitate rather than to hinder the accession of the nationals to places of control. Buildings can be erected—and this development is already under way—in the national style of archi-

tecture. Residences can be kept in the background and the institutions—schools, churches, and hospitals—that represent the real business that Christianity is transacting can be pushed to the fore. By this change the fundamental interests of Christianity will be less apt to be confused with the fact that the enterprise derives a large measure of support from and is considerably assisted by foreigners. Christianity, then, will no longer be regarded as a foreign faith.

The ministry of the great mission institutions is more than ever demanded for the new tasks that confront Christianity. The very alertness that is coming among non-white peoples; the high tide of questioning; the rising ascendency of the scientific spirit demand a presentation of the gospel that from every point of view shall be intellectually respectable. But neither the need for buildings nor the desire for baptisms can be allowed to interfere with the transforming and even more critical task of creating communities wherever Christians dwell, that can be seen by all who pass to be miniature cities of God.

Third, there is the problem of national leadership.

I recall the remark of one presiding officer in a mission gathering—made in the presence of nationals—that "these Asiatics are only children. They are barely learning to walk. Obviously they still need our hand and our fatherhood."

Which may be true. But if the nationals are to learn to walk, it seems obvious that, first, they must be led to believe that they are able to walk. The leading in this particular instance seemed to be lacking.

Such an attitude is acceptable, I suppose, if one concludes that we are out in the ends of the earth to establish countless duplicates of ourselves and of our own peculiar institutions. It is not acceptable, however, if our purpose is to establish Christianity in the faith, as Jesus had the faith, that those who accept the gospel will create institutions in keeping with their own backgrounds and adapted to the demands of their own futures.

I suppose that there are many mission administrators who will insist at this point that Christianity abroad is already largely in the hands of nationals. And they will present tables to demonstrate their convictions. But the tables do not give an accurate likeness to the real situation. In the actual business of running the enterprise of their own faith in their own lands the nationals have scant part. One American on a committee with four nationals reads well but indicates very little. The nationals may do four fifths of the talking. But they do not make four fifths of the decisions, for when the American talks he speaks for the mission organization, and that frequently constitutes a majority.

If the nationals of these lands are unable to run this Christian enterprise, the fault, in considerable measure, is ours. As I have already pointed out, we have identified the capacity of the people for an indigenous church with their capacity to swing the finances of these institutions which we have established. We have carefully nurtured them in the desire to expect more than they can ever hope to pay for. And then we have naïvely determined their qualifications on the basis of their ability to shoulder enterprises which we have created and run

in their behalf. The fault here is not that we have created these splendid institutions but that we seem determined to judge native leadership by its ability to finance them.

I attended a Christian Conference in India. The missionaries sat on the front rows and ran it. The Indians sat behind as silent witnesses. When I asked for an explanation a missionary pointed out that "the Indians are too slow. If we ever get anything done, we have to make the motions, introduce the proposals, and keep business to schedule."

But a new policy, designed to put the nationals to the fore would not be so much concerned with a schedule—that is, with our schedule. It would be made plain to the Indians that "this meeting, like this church, is yours. If you want our advice, come around. You'll find us on the back seats keeping silent."

Whenever nationals are given responsibility for their own enterprise their capacities are quickly revealed. Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer describes a visit to an independent Methodist church in South China on Easter morning, 1927. "It will be remembered," he writes, "that this church in Canton is an outgrowth of work among the Chinese in New York City and California and is independent of our Annual Conferences in China. It is now a self-supporting church and has, through its own efforts, opened eighteen preaching places and Sunday schools, some of them the beginnings of independent congregations. We found a congregation of about seventy-five, of whom two thirds or more were men."

With a policy designed to put the nationals to the fore business might not always move as hustling

Westerners might prescribe. Our own Anglo-Saxon blueprints might find a wastebasket oftener than a work bench. But in the end the Christianity that developed would be part and parcel of the lives of the people who profess it; vital in terms of their own problems; living with the breath of life that they themselves have breathed into it. And one day at their altars, differently built perhaps than ours, we might be able to experience an enrichment of our own faith.

Then, in the fourth place, there is the problem of church unity. Is our influence abroad being exerted toward the perpetuation of competitive Protestantism; or are we at work to utilize the machinery of our various denominations as the most convenient mechanism with which to lay the foundations of a united Christianity?

That question can hardly be answered by listing the interdenominational activities to which one's church gives support or by enumerating the various interdenominational committees on which the missionaries serve. Such data, put in a column and totaled, will not indicate whether the major organizational emphasis of the Christian churches abroad is on behalf of unity or of continued divisiveness.

An indication is afforded, however, in the policy that the Western church proposes to pursue toward the united churches, which in many places in the East are already organized. One hundred and twenty-four church societies have been engaged in the task of evangelizing India. Professor Daniel J. Fleming points out (*Building With India,* page 196) that "to some Christian leaders the fact that their church is not an All-Indian organization is its great-

est defect."[1] In 1923, at the meeting of the National Christian Council of India, it was apparent how great a resentment was developing among the Christians that the business of transplanting denominationalism seemed to be so zealously carried forward. The emergence of the United Church of South India, with its organization in various parts of South India, is a concrete expression of the Christian aspirations of Indians on this point. What, in the face of this situation, do the churches of the West propose to do?

In Shanghai recently the foundations were laid for a National Christian Church in China. Seventeen Protestant bodies are already said to have joined and others are preparing to enter this inclusive communion.

It is not too much to say that the most prominent of Asiatic Christians are committed to unity. I found, in fact, that the leadership of the movement is in the hands of the Christian nationals who are most frequently referred to as the best apologetic for Christianity in the East. It is interesting to note that whenever the hand of Western ecclesiasticism is withdrawn there is likely to be a surge toward union.

In the spring of 1927 the missionaries had scarcely evacuated when from several stations telegrams and letters came to the National Christian Council in Shanghai inquiring ways and means by which the now-Chinese-controlled Christian community could join with the national church body. I recently heard a declaration from the man who is probably

[1] *Building With India*, p. 196. Reprinted by permission of Missionary Education Movement.

the outstanding missionary leader in China to the effect that "if left to themselves, four fifths of the Chinese Christians of all Protestant denominations would, I believe, vote to join with the National Christian Church."

But more is involved here than the matter of the deepened spiritual life that would come as a result of union. The loyalty of the younger Christians of the West is involved. The foreign-missionary enterprise, at its best, has been a youth movement. It is exceedingly unlikely, however, that the youth of this generation can be won to an enthusiastic support of a program of Christianization that does not have, as one of its major purposes, the union of Protestantism on the field. There are no more insistent questions at youth gatherings than those which pertain to "preaching denominationalism" abroad. And there is no source of graver doubts among these young people than the belief that, with all the complex interdenominational committees and boards and commissions now in operation, the church of the West has not, as yet, exerted its full influence on behalf of a reunited Protestantism among those Christians of the East who seem so clearly to desire it.

"A large number of ecclesiastical bodies are working in China to-day, and each has its peculiar features and particular points of emphasis," writes C. Y. Cheng, general secretary of the National Christian Council. "But China," he continues, "has shown little interest in these imported divisions. We are not blind to the historic reasons for such divisions in the West. People can hardly think alike in any line; it is not to be expected that they should

think alike in matters of religion. The fact that China does not enthuse over the acceptance of Western denominationalism is by no means a guarantee that she will not some day have denominational divisions of her own. But to enforce upon the Chinese people divisions which are not the outcome of their own thought and experience seems neither wise nor fair."

A century hence it is possible that church historians will measure the prophetic leadership of the present period less in terms of the numbers that have been added to the score of the denominations than in the extent to which denominational sacrifices have been made in the interests of a wider and deeper Christian communion.

A final problem that concerns the national Christians and concerns also an increasing number of people in the Western church is that of the relationship between Christianity abroad and the political and economic program of white world domination. This question, right now, is very much to the front in China. The Chinese Christians of the city of Wuhan in a manifesto declared, in no uncertain terms that "should there be any foreign missionaries who love their own countries more than they love Christ, and who are unwilling to help us in our national revolution of the moment, we wish them to go back to their own countries as soon as possible. The only thing we can do is to work hard for the independence of the Christian Church so that it may be free from the control of foreigners and may rid itself forever of all relationship with imperialism."

Such an opinion, adapted to the particular situa-

tion, finds an echo among Christian groups all across the non-white world. And the missionaries, as individuals, have responded, sometimes heroically, in dissociating themselves from Western imperialism. It is unfortunate that this repudiation has not been more widely and more officially indorsed by the churches of the West.

It is safe to say that the eyes of the East are upon the church as it takes up again its work in China. Africans and Indians, as well as Chinese, desire to see for themselves whether or not the repeated assertion that Christianity is not a part of imperialism is to be borne out in action. I believe it would be far better for the Christian's gospel if no missionary returned to China for a quarter of a century than if, by an earlier return our program was restored either directly or indirectly, to the shelter of the gunboat policy.

A considerable time has elapsed since, with the evacuation of the missionaries, the opportunity arose before the Western church to clarify its position once and for all before the world. But still the question is being raised insistently, "What about the future and the gunboats"? It is raised among the national Christians of China and of India. It is raised wherever young people gather to consider their relationship to the program of Christian extension. It is raised, with satisfaction, by the foes of the missionary enterprise. When will the church through its official agencies give an unmistakable answer?

Recently the members of the Congregational Church of Winnetka, Illinois, "believing that a crisis exists in our missionary work in China and that

without radical changes in the conditions governing this work its success is greatly hampered if not made impossible," submitted to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the following request:

> We ask that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions associate itself with other missionary societies having headquarters in this country to ask of the government of the United States such a modification of its practice in the affording of diplomatic protection to its citizens in China as that those who desire to work in the interior of China and who also desire to avail themselves of this modification may be given diplomatic protection without the application or the threat of American military force, but with the use of only such methods as promote good will in personal and official relations.

The American Board, upon receipt of this resolution, declared that "the Prudential Committee is disposed," in behalf of the American Board, "to petition the United States government, through the State Department, that it make it possible for the missionaries of the American Board who desire to live outside the concessions, legations, and other "protected areas" to be given only such diplomatic protection as may be provided without the use, threat, or show of military force, and by such methods only as will promote good will in personal and official relations."

A further step in this direction was taken at the recent meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference in Atlantic City. A resolution, adopted there by a large majority of the representative missionary

leaders present, declared that "in the judgment of this Conference the use or threat of foreign military force for the protection of missionaries is in general a serious hindrance to missionary work, and that the effort should be made to secure for those missionaries desiring it the privilege of waiving their right to such protection."

When the mission boards, with work in China, have made declarations of policy in line with the principle laid down at Atlantic City, the Christian enterprise in that land and around the world will be given added strength.

If the government proposes to keep its gunboats in Chinese waters and to protect the missionaries, willy-nilly, then I do not see how there is any other alternative open than to remain out of China, or, if determined to return, to offer first to surrender citizenship. Should the mission boards make it plain that none of their representatives would return until the gunboat policy, so far as the missionaries are concerned, was withdrawn, one wonders just how long the influence of the traders would maintain it in operation. China right now provides the Christians of the West with an opportunity that is not likely soon to return to remove the curse of imperialism which in Eastern eyes has stained their altars.

Finally, the changes involved in these problems, however revolutionary, provide a challenge both to the Western church and to the missionary. To the missionary there is the challenge to give himself to an enterprise that he will not direct but in which he will serve. The need for administrative guardianship still exists in certain fields. But in others,

as I have already indicated, national leaders are arising, able to do for themselves what, before, the missionary has done for them. And the missionary, freed from administration, can begin more than ever to minister.

The background of that ministry is now, as it has always been, the world's appalling human need. Day and night, in rainy season and dry season, through the monsoons and the dust storms, in market places and on dim trails through the bush, the missionary is called to the relief of a stricken humanity. With his bandages and books he goes to renew the spirits of men, to heal their bodies and free their minds. However completely the administrative machinery may come under the control of nationals, this background of human need will not soon disappear.

There was a time when this need was largely considered in terms of geography. The world, then, was staked out from outpost to lonely outpost. A slender line of stations was planted from the great port cities of the non-white world off to the most remote frontiers. We talked, in that period, about the "occupation" of the world for Christianity. Now that period of geographical expansion is coming to an end, and we can see how big a task remains to occupy the life of the world for Christ. The enterprise that staked out the face of the earth for Christianity was no harder an undertaking than this newer task to stake out the world of mind and of spirit. No closed land was ever more difficult of access than the hearts and minds of countless people that have been weighted shut with an age-long accumulation of ignorance and prejudice and fear.

To make a way over these dark thresholds with the true light that lighteth is an undertaking that still confronts the missionary. That he works alongside of national leaders or under their direction will only give him a greater confidence in the wisdom of his approach and a greater freedom for the personal ministry which is his first concern.

But the missionary's task, in the end, comes down to one fundamental piece of business. He is needed in order that the newer Christians of the non-white world may share in his knowledge of God, and that countless multitudes of non-Christians may have an opportunity to share the Christian's experience. He is needed in order that Christians of the West may have a part in the life of these of other races whose faith has developed in different circumstances and in a different environment. In meeting these needs he may be called upon to teach or to preach or to run a dispensary. But there will be one inescapable opportunity—to live before non-Christian peoples in such a way that Christ will be revealed. If he fails to do that, the failure, among those whose eyes will be constantly upon him, will be ascribed not to him but to the Man and the gospel that he represents. If he succeeds at that, however he may bungle other matters, his gospel and his Master will be esteemed.

Similarly, to the Western church there is a challenge in these changes to continue to support a Christian enterprise abroad that is passing from the West's control. This is no simple matter. Occidentals, particularly when they are organized, are notably hesitant to support actively a project that they do not dominate. This is more than ever the

case when the support involves financial contributions. I have heard churchmen, impatient that Christians abroad were now reaching to that place of leadership which, for a century, we have prayed that they might reach, advise that Western support be withdrawn entirely. The attitude is akin to that of the American government in the Philippines: "No responsibility without authority."

Unquestionably it requires a deeper consecration to a cause to give to it when there are no strings to one's gifts. But it is to that deeper consecration that the Christian Church of the West is being called in relation to foreign missions. The intellectual and spiritual capacities of the Christians of Asia and Africa are developing more rapidly than their financial resources. There are economic limitations in the life of these lands which are beyond the control of the Christian community. The removal of these limitations waits upon many factors. But there are no such mental or spiritual limitations. A nationalled church, particularly in Asia, is on the horizon. A national financed church, however, is of the distant future.

Christianity would not die out if, because they lacked financial resources, we left the Christians of these lands to carry on without our aid; but the advances now under way toward a wider Christianization of the world—advances which are underwritten by the more highly endowed Christians of the West—would be immeasurably slowed down, and the suffering throngs that find their way out of filthy streets and crowded bazaars and darkened homes to the centers of Christian ministry that, across the world, our Western wealth maintains,

would be turned away, unhelped. Until Christ's ideal of giving and his indiscriminate concern for men are repudiated, the Western church will hardly abandon this double obligation to extend his gospel and to continue his ministry.

CHAPTER III

AFRICA

Civilization—For Good or Ill?

Africa, if no longer "Dark," remains to many people the undiscovered continent. Commissions, out to survey the world, skirt along the northern fringe of the continent, catch an eastward steamer, slip past Suez and make for India. Christian statesmen, from time to time, announce rising tides of many sorts—of race consciousness and nationalism; of mass movements and national churches—but always in terms of China or India or Japan. Africa, in the popular mind, is still as the colored slides have pictured it: a tangle of jungle, naked savages, thatched-roof missionary houses, an impromptu operating room somewhere in the bush; the last frontier of the missionary world, where the strategies—and sermons—of fifty years ago may still be safely used.

It is possible that Africa for some time to come will remain undiscovered. The continent is bulky. It stretches far toward the antarctic beyond the customary "round-the-world" run. And there are few doubtless who know that at four o'clock on every Friday afternoon a mail boat, splendidly appointed, steams from Southampton, calls at Madeira, rides the cool Benguella current across the equator and anchors at Capetown, under the shadow of Table Mountain, just seventeen days later. But lack of

discovery hardly affects the fact that the movements which are making a new Asia are found perhaps most critically in Africa. I say "most critically" for two reasons.

First, because in Africa the white exploiter has had the fewest limitations placed upon his treatment of the native. Relatively free from the meddling scrutiny of international investigators, he has had his own merry way. He has come to make a quick fortune and a quick getaway. The exploiter's politics and his economics have been built upon the assumption that

> "We are the chosen people.
> Look at the hue of our skins.
> Others are black or yellow—
> That is because of their sins."

He has cracked his whip in the bush and armies of frightened black men have been herded to do his bidding. He has put them into a few more clothes; given them, sometimes, better food; driven them to build his roads; poured them into the earth to dig his gold, and in the end, has tossed them back into the bush again, victims of new fears and new diseases.

This policy has brought unprecedented profits—but it promises disaster. Because he has been more unscrupulous than elsewhere in the non-white world the white exploiter has stored up against himself a greater bitterness for a day of reckoning. Because of the burden of these oppressions the stimuli of race hatred are nowhere else so apparent or so potent. The African's bill of grievances against the white man is the most valid and the most formidable

in existence. That fact contributes to the critical nature of Africa's developing self-consciousness.

There is a second fact. Africa is without the background of an ancient civilization such as serves, in some measure, to temper the new movements that are stirring in Asia. Racialism and nationalism exist in Africa in the raw. The very weaknesses of the African native that made it possible for the white man to enforce his slave policies provide now the greatest asset to those who have come to that continent to preach anti-white violence. Because the African himself is primitive the tactics which he will employ for winning his place in the sun are likely to be primitive. Given an astute leadership, such as is actually developing, and Africa's program for emancipation in all likelihood will continue for some time to be the deliberately organized expression of the mob mind.

However critical the development of an African race consciousness may be, the fact of the development itself can hardly be denied. There is evidence of it on every hand—in every mine compound, in every road-building camp, at every isolated outpost where "recruited" laborers are "caught" and herded off together at white command.

I visited one day the headquarters of a native labor union in one of the great industrial centers of the continent. Natives, in keeping with the prevalent policy of repression, were forbidden to organize. The policy, of course, did not prevent organization, it only kept it out of sight. The union maintained mobile headquarters which I had difficulty in finding. The president, at the time of my visit, was in temporary exile, but the union sec-

retary was very much on hand. He explained at some length the history and remarkable growth of the organization. Then, to make the story concrete, he piled on his desk half a dozen volumes of the Membership Register.

"Here," he said, "are nearly fifty thousand names. They are the material out of which we are making a Negro dictatorship. The whites have had their day in this part of the world. We know the best that we can expect from them. Every new name in this register speeds the time when, by force of arms or by boycott we will begin to do for ourselves what your race has refused to do for us."

That spirit finds a variety of expressions up and down in White Man's Africa. Beyond the White Man's Africa, in the Africa of the native, life is of a different sort. Just now, however, it is with the White Man's Africa that we are concerned. In it a race of black men is being rapidly infected with a belief in themselves. As a result a new Africa is in the making. For this the Christian gospel must bear a large measure of responsibility.

It was not without a fight that the missionary undertook his work in Africa. Westerners, out for gold, neither like his critical scrutiny nor approved his enterprise. He was, and sometimes still is, ostracized, ridiculed, and persecuted. But he carried on. He has done little for Africa's resources of copper or gold or diamonds. His records are not in carloads or carats. His success is not of the negotiable sort, but he has wrought miracles with Africa's human resources. His achievements are of the same durable stuff as life itself.

James Bryce, summing up his observations of the

missionary enterprise in Africa in 1897, declared that "the gospel and the mission schools are at present the most truly civilizing influences which work upon the natives, and that upon these influences, more than on any other agency, does the progress of the colored race depend."

And that—the fact that the missionary's work has involved the development of native rather than natural resources—is the basis for the hostile attitude of the white exploiter toward the progress of Christianity. The missionary—whatever other complaints stand against him—is widely condemned as "the friend of the native." A wise old native chief once remarked that there were two kinds of Europeans—white men and missionaries. There is point to that observation. In season and out, while traders and adventurers fought for Africa's land and gold, the missionary fought for the African.

That fact has made history on the continent. The early Dutch who settled in South Africa enslaved the natives as they annexed his land. He was their property, like the oxen, and they quoted Scripture to prove it. "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. . . . God shall enlarge Japeth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." And there were few to deny the doctrine. Few, that is, save the missionaries. They—what few there were in those early days—denied it vehemently. They preached fair play up and down South Africa. They wrote home to England. England, in the midst of an anti-slavery movement, turned attention to Africa and abolished slavery in her colony there. And the Boers—they already were possessed of a firm

hatred of the British—declared their added hatred of missionaries and trekked into the back veldt where, eventually, they founded the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State.

It is part of the contribution of the Protestant missionary that slavery was abolished then in South Africa. It continues to be a part of the missionary contribution that to-day in every corner of the continent the lot of those who seek to enchain the native is increasingly difficult.

It is significant that the missionary's program, more recently, is finding wider support. Other organizations are appearing which are concerned with the uplift of the native. The British government itself has given unqualified support to the program of Christianization in its territories. The attitude of many individual Britishers in Africa has been in strong disagreement with the government at this point. But the fact still remains that British subsidy to mission schools and British friendliness to the mission program, in general, makes the lot of the missionary and the advance of his enterprise infinitely easier in British Africa than in the territory under the authority of any other nation.

Since the Great War the influence of the League of Nations, exercised chiefly through its Mandates and Anti-Slavery Commissions, has had a most salutary effect upon exploiters everywhere. I recall the bitter comment of a grim European, long resident in Africa, who declared that "we could handle these natives if it were not for the meddling of that infernal Geneva organization."

It is a fact observable in many places that hatred

of the League of Nations among Europeans in the non-white world is a very good index of the exploitative tactics that those Europeans, if permitted, would use toward the natives. The spirit of investigation for which the League of Nations stands and which it frequently has exercised in Africa, has put a curb upon the agencies of exploitation.

Further, in the Union of South Africa the Protestant churches are beginning to face their responsibility toward the native. In 1923 the Dutch Reformed Church called a conference at which for the first time Europeans and natives sat down to deliberate together upon their common problems. There was full equality of participation in the meeting. Some of the subjects considered were Native Education, the Urban Areas Act, segregation, and political privileges for natives.

Equally significant is the work of the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives which have been organized in many cities of the Union during the last five years. The work of these interracial groups is "to unite societies and individuals engaged in securing the better adjustment of racial relations in South Africa."

The moving spirit in the Joint Councils movement is Professor J. D. Rheinallt Jones, of the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. He has been able to bring together church groups, native welfare societies, and a great number of individuals from both the European and native communities. Widely separated parts of the union are represented in the organization which is thus able to keep in close touch with local problems. The Councils have opposed strenuously the extension of the liquor

traffic among native people; they have worked for greater industrial justice; have studied all bills relating to the welfare of natives, and have served as a means of informing the general public of the significance of proposals that come before the Union Parliament.

But the missionary none the less remains in vast areas of Africa as the native's only court of appeals. He alone has lived close enough to the Negro to know the tactics of his exploiters. Possession of that knowledge makes him a dangerous person. Because of that fact his appeals on behalf of the native are frequently heard by the authorities when, were he a less potent figure, they would be curtly denied. But this interceding has been the only restraint upon the overlordship of the white men in interior empires of Africa where restraints of some sort were badly needed.

I have seen the missionary in the capacity of intercessor. A native is unjustly thrown into jail for his hut tax. The wife appeals to the missionary. He goes to the jail, hears the story and retells it to the official who has refused to hear the native. The native is released.

Another whose wife is very ill is "caught" for work on the roads. The missionary intercedes, promising that, when the wife is well, the native will return to the authorities. After much discussion and protest the request is granted, and the native a few weeks later, to the amazement of the officials, returns to work on the roads.

A planter far in the interior seeks to oust the natives from their village and to deprive them of their gardens which he desires for the enlargement

of his own fields. The missionary comes *via* bicycle to hear the story first hand, calls on the planter and is insulted for his pains; he goes to the administrator of the district and eventually saves the land for the villagers.

In a sense, these appeals are not revolutionary. In regard to them it is impossible to use the well-rounded phrases that often describe the "present unprecedented opportunity" that confronts the world; but they represent the difference between justice and oppression, fair play and rough treatment. And in another sense this aggressive friendship of the white missionary for the black native is completely revolutionary. It gives rise to that most bitter of all free-booter denunciations—"The missionary spoils the native."

Which, precisely, is what the missionary does. In the face of oppression it is the missionary who stirs up discontent by preaching and acting on the assumption that the natives have "rights." In the face of economic and social slavery it is the missionary who acts toward the native as though he were fit to be free. And the hospitals and schools and churches that are built are evidence of the missionary's belief that the future has in store a greater destiny for the African than the past or the present has revealed. In them Christianity is "spoiling" the native—spoiling him for exploitation, but preparing him for manhood; spoiling him, in fact, for everything unworthy of a son of God.

The missionary, unless he abandoned his Christian gospel, could not have prevented this development. It is involved inevitably in Jesus' revelation of the Fatherhood of God.

But if the Christian gospel in considerable part is responsible for the awakening consciences of the people of Africa, it provides at the same time a potent agency for its direction. When I repeated to General Jan Christian Smuts the boast of the native labor leaders that "a black dictatorship is in the making," he declared: "Only very foolish or very ignorant people will be inclined to laugh off such a prediction. Significantly enough, the only real alternative to such a violent course is provided by your missionaries. No one can seriously doubt that we are on the verge of a drastic revision of our relationship with the non-white world. The rapid spread of the missionary's gospel is a factor in bringing that change and, equally important, is the best guarantee that it can be accomplished without unloosing upon us the forces of unreasoning destruction."

It is frequently said, of course, that the missionary overestimates the importance of his doctrine of love and brotherliness. There are many to assert with a good deal of passion that his preaching provides an opiate rather than a Deliverer. It is not always easy to demonstrate that Christian teachings which have helped to arouse nationalistic aspirations have also served to smooth the path to their realization. Only partial proof is furnished by the fact that Christian influence in the West has frequently softened the judgments of Western peoples and moderated the actions of their governments. But the missionary stresses his Christian gospel of love not only because he believes it provides the materials out of which the new world can be safely created but because also he realizes the alternatives involved in its rejection.

The very presence of the missionary provides some proof of the validity of his gospel. He has revealed to Africa—as to the non-white world—that material interests and economic exploitation are not a full measure of the idealism of the Occident. Whatever faults may be found with his work, his place on the field indicates that the truth of the white man's policy of oppression is not the whole truth about the white race.

In Africa and throughout Asia, in fact, the program of foreign missions represents now, as it has always represented, the one uniformly unselfish contact between the white and the non-white worlds. African and Oriental opinion of the Occident is none too flattering at best, but it is likely that the attitude of non-white peoples would be even more hostile if it were necessary for them to judge of the West exclusively from those westerners who would remain if the missionary were withdrawn. And, most important of all, the missionary is the only available proof to Africa and the East that there are some people in the Christian West who take Christ seriously and who propose to give him a chance in the world.

When in the White Man's Africa gods of many sorts, of materialism and militarism and racial hatred, have their exponents, it is a vital matter that spokesmen are provided for the God whom Christ revealed. Meanwhile Christianity, at work in the White Man's Africa, represents a gospel of redemption. The need for such a gospel is as apparent as the transformations it has wrought there.

Take Johannesburg. A boom town of shacks and brawls and miners, grown, in a generation, to a

modern city. Homes and business blocks, a university and boulevards, the foundation of them all resting on the world's richest vein of gold.

Sunday in "Jo'burg." A hot wind from the veldt. Mountains of silt and a fog of yellow dust. Negro miners—hordes of them—lounging in their compounds. Out along the gold reef scores of Christian churches crowded to capacity, and every congregation a nucleus of opposition to the widespread and thriving influences that pander to all that is worst and weakest in the native character.

I attended a service on Sunday on the Rand. It was a three-hour affair. The thousand miners present were insistent that it be even further prolonged. I was perplexed to understand the sustained enthusiasm of the congregation. The paraphernalia which I had associated with successful worship were all lacking. The church building was of corrugated iron. Its flat iron roof served no other purpose quite so well as that of intensifying the heat of the African sun. The floor was of clay, pounded unevenly into a black asphalt. There were benches hand-made from cast-off planks, without backs and indescribably uncomfortable. Musical instruments were altogether lacking. The call to worship was sounded with a succession of sharp tattoos on a long iron bar that hung at the church door.

But I have never heard such singing, such sonorous congregational responses, or such extended fervent prayers. The course of the three hours brought forth three sermons. The congregation, with many strange "Amens," was an active party to them all.

These men had come straight from the African

bush to work in the mines. Culturally there was little enough to commend them. But somewhere along the way they had met up with this Christian gospel. They had taken it in all seriousness. The scores of churches on the Rand were of their building. The native preachers were supported out of their scant incomes. They brought night schools and Bible classes into the compounds. And the next day a non-missionary resident of Johannesburg interpreted these things:

"On the reef," he said, "there are two hundred thousand African miners. Liquor and women, gambling and feuds make an effective combination for their destruction. And once that combination has unfitted them, they are tossed back into the bush to spread disease and degeneracy.

"But these Christians represent a different sort of life. The men in your Sunday service, a vast majority of them, get along without liquor. They refuse to share in the too popular and too prevalent vices of the Rand. They are learning to save. The result of it all is that they go back to the bush, when their contract is out, as assets to their families and to society rather than as liabilities."

Elisabethville lies a four-days' train journey to the north of Johannesburg in the Belgian Congo. Copper is responsible for the fact that it too is White Man's Africa. Natives there are the rough tools of the whites, much easier to replace and therefore handled with less care than the mine machinery. Only the missionary is concerned with their care or their development. He persists with his night schools and his preaching services, his Bible lessons and his character-building despite the rather unremitting

hostility of many of the mine officials. Here too he is "spoiling" the native.

And Christianity, as in Johannesburg, makes men different. I asked one official how he identified a Christian. "That's not difficult," he said, "a Christian spends his beer money to buy soap, mosquito netting, and disinfectants, and his off time learning to read and write."

In Likasi, another copper city of the Congo, I tramped through mine compound after mine compound with the missionary. In all of them a few taps on the long iron bar—Africa's standard church bell—and a little group of Christian miners gathered around us. They were accustomed to meet that way every day for a devotional service. The management objected to their singing, so they moved their services beyond the compound fence. When in one place they sought to build a church, the overseer increased their time in the mines. But they cut short their meals and worked during the night until the building was completed. The Christians were frequently moved from one part of the district to another. But they took their religion with them. The missionary had long since grown accustomed to the reports that came in with regularity of new Christian churches in places that he had never visited.

We visited nine Christian groups that day. In the evening we climbed across a great granite hill to the last of these meeting places. The lights were coming on at the mine shafts and along the compound streets. Ahead of us were the native quarters—row after row of thatched-roof cabins, and beyond them the tumbledown shack of a church.

The Christians were there before us. We could hear them singing far down the hill. Their song was old. But it echoed down that hillside, a song of hope, of new men and of a new Africa:

"O, spread the tidings round,
Wherever man is found,
Wherever human hearts
And human woes abound;
Let every Christian tongue
Proclaim the joyful sound,
The Comforter has come."

The Comforter *had* come. His presence was written in the faces of these people, in their homes and the way they lived in them, in their awakening pride, and in their growing consciousness that with his faith they had become members of a fellowship that is more than race or nation and heirs of a destiny that is genuinely divine.

This is the White Man's Africa. In it the African native is coming abreast of the world. His education, whether we like it or not, is going on apace. His curriculum is constituted out of more than missionary's schools. His learning is made from every contact with the Westerner's "civilization"—with automobiles and electric lights, clothes and street cars. The crowds that line up along the tracks to watch the white man's trains, that frequent his dives, or flock around the saloon doors to witness his dissipations, are in its classes.

I waited for a train one night in the town of Sakania, on the edge of the Belgian Congo. The white overlords of the community filled the saloon shack next to the station. Natives, not allowed in-

side, crowded around the doors and peered in at the windows. A white man lurched out and fell into the arms of two Negroes. He was too drunk to walk. The natives laughed and carried him off to his quarters. He had added his bit—this product of a superior race—to the "civilizing" of the native.

It is not within the power of Christians to determine whether or not this "education" of the African will go on. They can only seek to determine its direction. We may withdraw the missionary, but the native will continue to learn—from others. Every closed school and preaching place will only leave the field that much freer for the brothels and the saloons and the gambling dens, which are not likely soon to shut up shop; and to the advocates of greed and force and hatred that are not likely soon to cease their preaching.

The natives of Africa are on the road toward a civilization. The extent of our missionary work is an expression of the depth of our desire that that civilization shall be Christian, that Christ shall direct its building.

Beyond the mines and roads and compounds of the White Man there is another Africa. The primitive, infected, cowering Africa of the native. Disease and starvation, ignorance and fear stalk down its long grass trails from village to thatched-roof village. No sun is bright enough to dispel the darkness that these evils spread. Night and day, from birth to death, they prey upon the native, and all the voodoo charms and witch doctors and the tribal dances to weird, all-night tom-toms are impotent to remove their curse.

I visited many of these African villages. Here is

one of them. A dozen women, more than half-naked, their bodies and faces horribly tattooed, lounged on grimy mats. Nearby was a great jar of sugar-cane beer. The villagers were in a drunken stupor. They yelled and shouted at us like animals. They followed us around, dragging half-starved children through the muck of the clearing. Their huts were indescribable. Roofs were tumbling, walls propped up with tree limbs and doorways like holes in an old wall, through which we crawled on our knees. Inside there were filth and darkness. No windows. The dirt floor had never been cleaned. There were goats in one corner, a chicken-roost in another, rats climbing in much too intimate fashion through the ceiling of thatch. Smoke from a smouldering fire in the center filled the place and added black dust to the grime of the roof.

That is the Africa of the native—"Darkest Africa." Its needs are primitive, and limitless as the things and the thoughts that distinguish men from animals.

Christianity at work there concerns the small but fundamental matters of discipleship. The missionary who stands as the representative of that gospel carries revolution wherever he goes to preach it. He insists that the sordidness of the old life shall be destroyed and a new life begun, that cleanliness shall displace filth, that men shall work and deal honestly with one another, that women shall be honorably treated. The African who undertakes to walk in this way becomes a marked man. The Christian in Africa is easily identified. He has become a different being.

The insistence that the Christian shall live in the

Christian manner is not a mere matter of Sunday-morning generalities. It is a specific proposition that gets down to the individual and is enforced there. In Elizabethville, in the Belgian Congo, I found that the Methodist Episcopal native church had set aside every Tuesday night as "Trouble Night." On that night the recalcitrant, back-sliding members of the Elisabethville church were called before the native Board of Stewards, who with the missionary constituted judge, jury, and executioner for those who erred. Discipline was determined and meted out by the stewards and the procedings recorded in a "Trouble Book."

Thus, in this Christian log book, it was set down that "Neli Shisibeti was found making beer in her house. Christians in the village reported her. She was called, reprimanded and, we believe, sincerely repented."

Again: "Lazarus Kafilika, who was suspended for eighteen months from the church and from his position as teacher because he had had trouble with his wife, has applied for readmission, his time of suspension being at an end. He has continued to preach during this time. Although denied the fellowship of the church he has worked for it continually. We welcomed him again."

After disposing of another case involving matrimonial difficulties—the most common of all problems in Africa—there is this note by the missionary: "I spoke to all at some length about the true Christian ideal of man and wife. The stewards responded that the matter had been much on their hearts that so many took marriage so lightly."

Page after page of these confessionals were re-

corded. They were amusing enough, but actually they constituted a primer of Christian ideals. In them was the story of primitive Africa's introduction to Jesus' way of life. They revealed the painstaking effort with which the missionary has sought to establish Christ in the midst of so much darkness, and to set up his relationships for the old and overburdened existence. They reveal the care with which stone by stone the foundations of a Christian civilization are being laid. It is not easy, therefore, to be a Christian in Africa. A mere confession of faith is not enough. Membership in a church is a mark of distinction. Those who apply are obliged first to prove their right to bear it.

On another night in Elisabethville I was present when a class appeared to take its final examination for church membership. There were three women, one of them with a baby blanketed to her back, and one young man. They had come that afternoon, through eight miles of bush trail to the town. Like all others, this class had been in preparation for two years. They had met regularly for study. Now, at the end of their undergraduate course, they stood before the native officials of the church to give final proof of their fitness.

For two hours they were examined. They set forth, in detail, why they wished to join the church; what the Christian life in terms of the specific problems of their village, required; what obligations they assumed. The young man was questioned closely as to his ideals of marriage and family life and of the responsibilities of a father in a Christian home. Then, the examination finished, they returned over the eight miles of bush trail to their homes.

On the next Sunday morning we went out by bicycle to the village of these four Christians. They were present at the service in the thatched-roof church. When we left again, they followed us on foot, with most of the rest of the village, to be on hand that afternoon at the service in Elisabethville. There, before a great audience of natives, their fitness was publicly proclaimed and they were accepted into the Christian fellowship. They had furnished proof that they were different Africans. They were set apart from the old Africa to have a share in the new.

To a remarkable extent, Christianity in Africa is being carried forward by the hands of youth. When, at Mrewa, in Southern Rhodesia, I asked three native women why they had become Christians, their answers were much the same.

"My son," said the first, "was a Christian."

The second said: "All of my children had become Christians. I found out, finally, that they were right."

And the third: "The Christian girls of the village came to my house to pray. They taught me."

In front of an open fire in a kraal at Mrewa I asked a group of Christian boys, in the boarding school there, why they chose to study when the non-Christian boys of their villages only idled. The spokesman for the group answered for them all: "We are trying hard to live differently. If we succeed, we will have something to take to the boys back there."

I met a good many of the mothers of these boys. Their testimony was practical. Those who scoff at Christian missions as mere ecclesiastical proselytiz-

ing need to know the real stuff out of which the missionary reckons his achievements.

"I know the life in heathen houses," one of these mothers said. "It is only misery, the misery of fear and immorality, drunkenness, and cruelty. All of these things have gone away since we became Christians." And I found that her home was proof of her testimony.

At Nyadiri, where at the Washburn hospital a missionary doctor has built a hospital settlement and established a leper colony, and where, on a modern farm, young Christians are learning modern methods of agriculture, I attended a District Conference. It was a two-day affair. Three hundred Christians from the territory attended. They were in their Sunday best. The choir from the girls' school at Nyadiri led in the singing. There were impromptu prayers and testimonies; direct testimonies of actual experiences in the business of Christian living. At night, when the camps of these district pilgrims were made in the surrounding forest, we could hear them singing, from campfire to campfire, the songs of Christian Africa.

Thus, evangelism in Africa involves the seven-days-a-week relationships of the people. And the missionary program is built with that in mind. At Old Umtali, pioneer station, that fact finds expression in schools and experiment farms and social work—all of it designed to evangelize the whole life of the native. At Gikuki, in Portuguese East Africa, where a missionary hospital reaches thirty thousand patients every year, a physical ministry goes side by side with a spiritual ministry as it did with Jesus. I visited the new Hartzell girls' school at Gikuki.

In its curricula the ideals for a new African womanhood and a new home life are being created out of the strength of character that Christianity has developed in the girls who are enrolled there. Tavane, in this same territory, with its schools, dispensary, and church, is, more than anything else, an isolated gateway into Christian Africa.

Twenty miles inland from Gikuki, in this Portuguese territory, is Kambini. Kambini is not a tribe or a town or an institution. But the Bodine School there is many other things as important and as unique. It is—to name a few—a power plant and a tannery; an industrial school with basket-making, weaving, carpentry, brick-making, and tailoring departments; a day and boarding school, a dispensary, an agricultural experiment station, a theological seminary, and a church. But, more than all these, Kambini is a manner of life, a manner of life of the sort that the missionary, in all his stations, is bringing to Africa.

The theological school at Kambini illustrates just what I mean. The native theologues are taught many things that appear to be of little homiletical value, but the evangelizing of Africa involves more than sermonizing. For that reason the evangelist when he goes out from Kambini to preach carries more than sermons in his equipment.

He carries, for one thing, a set of convictions about the dignity of labor. The set was costly, but the missionaries insisted that, without it, he was unfit to preach the Christian gospel. There was some trouble at that point. It was the custom of an earlier generation to give clothes and food to its Christians. It paid, in those days, to believe.

But now the process, throughout Africa, has been reversed. Neither theologues nor church members are any longer spoon-fed. On the contrary, the student evangelists who generally enter the school with substantial family encumbrances are promptly told—not in any academic sense—to dig for themselves. The mission provides the ground. The students cultivate it, market their produce, support themselves. When they go out to preach, therefore, these Kambini products know good seeds from bad, understand something of crop rotation and better methods of cultivation, and carry the faith, born of their own experience, that instruction in hard and more intelligent labor is involved in the evangelization of the native.

This applies to more matters than agriculture. Extra pulpit instruction involves one term of carpentry and one of masonry. I have visited villages, built under ministerial supervision from the digging of the foundations to the burning of the bricks and the thatching of the roofs. And while the preacher turns builder or farmer or teacher, his wife, trained at Kambini, instructs the village women in basket-weaving and pottery and runs a crude dispensary.

I suppose it is religion in a practical and personal sense that accounts for the spirit of Kambini, in fact, for the Christian spirit throughout Africa. The day after I reached Kambini the entire countryside assembled for Sunday-morning worship. The church was packed, not in the ordinary sense because there was no ordinary church. All that was on hand as a building was a hugh pile of stones that one of the missionaries, with his native masons, had dug from a nearby hill. Actual work was held up for funds.

But across the compound from the church site the congregation assembled under a tamarind tree that spreads a leafy roof to shelter the audience from the rain or the African sun. The equipment for a church was sadly lacking, but not the spirit. The spirit was the same that, during the week, had led the students, in a solemn delegation, to wait upon the missionary in protest against an impending school holiday. And the same, also that led the entire student body to appeal for the privilege of attending the weekly training class for Sunday-school teachers that meets just after daybreak on every Sunday morning.

And here, as at every mission station, the missionary makes no apology for the fact that he preaches a gospel of redemption to the African native. A gospel of any other sort would be futile for the work of individual and social transformation that he has undertaken.

In fact, it is evangelism—the life—changing business—that is at the heart of every helpful, healing Christian ministry. It is unavailing, merely to supply to the African native the materials and teach him the rules whereby he can live cleanly, honestly, and with love. The character, of which these things are an expression, is a product not of rote or of possession but of rebirth. Soap and bandages and textbooks are the roughest tools of the missionary's trade. His concern is for a skill at the task of transforming men's hearts; of erecting in them a desire for right living; of endowing them with spiritual strength, of leading them to the source of strength that Jesus knew, and enabling them, as Jesus was enabled, to win a godlike life.

It was from Davida, pastor of a Christian church

near Kambini, that I learned something of this more significant missionary work. I visited Davida's little village, Bethlehem, in Portuguese East Africa. It is a city set upon a hill. Neat houses, clean streets, a comfortable, home-built church. In Davida's home: a library, windows, tables, chairs, a bed strung with mosquito netting.

"The missionary has taught you many things," I said.

"But what he has really brought us is not teaching, but an experience," said Davida. "The only guarantee of all this"—sweeping his hand back toward the houses—"is Jesus Christ. Without him in Bethlehem this village would forget its lessons and slip back again into the old misery-infected ways of heathenism."

At the end of that day I went with Davida, when the villagers came from their fields, to the little, home-built church for evening worship. There was singing. Davida prayed and led in the Lord's Prayer. And when, in the African twilight, the service was ended I knew that there, in Bethlehem of Portuguese East Africa, Jesus himself was coming into his world anew. I knew too that this Christian village was more than a monument to missionary endeavor. It stood, rather, as a milestone of the sort that Christianity is setting up across Africa to guide the peoples of that continent out of primal darkness into the way that Jesus traveled; a way wherein they are fitted, as they journey, for entering, finally, as citizens into the kingdom of God.

CHAPTER IV

INDIA

The Fruits of Hinduism

There is something vital and stirring in the spiritual quality of India's civilization. It is inescapable in the stillness of her meditations, in her renunciation, among the pilgrims that throng her roads eternally in quest of God. It moves through her scriptures and her prayers and lives, quiet and other-worldly and confident, in a thousand walled retreats where holy men have leave to come to a knowledge of the Infinite.

The West is genuinely indebted to the Indians who have sojourned here to interpret these things, and to the missionaries whose interpretations have been no less effective. And the West, I believe, has given ear. Pulpits and periodicals are readily at the disposal of those who come to recount the beauties of Indian life—even when the recounting involves much corollary material that is discreditable to the Occident.

There is something reassuring in that fact. It is a matter of honesty, quite as much as of Christian tolerance, to recognize that, long before the missionaries came, God had not left himself without witnesses in India. Christianity there can hardly be either genuinely Indian or Christian without a recognition of his hand in India's faiths.

But it is unfortunate that many of these modern apologists for India have failed to set a bound to

the conclusions that, on the basis of their facts and eloquence, could justifiably be drawn. That failure has led to opinions about India, which, if relished by mere propagandists, were never intended by the serious interpreters of the culture of that land. It is one thing to recognize the beauty of India's religious thought, but quite another to admit its spiritual sufficiency. Neither India nor the West is served when information that adequately demonstrates the former contention is exaggerated to stand as proof for the latter.

It is not a part of the purpose of this book to enter upon abstract discussion of comparative religions. The issue, here, however, is not academic. It is human—as human as the needs of three hundred twenty-five million Indians. Because of that fact foreign missions are involved. They become involved at the point where the question ceases to be a mere matter for debate and becomes an issue affecting the lives of people.

To appreciate the spiritual qualities of India's civilization is an intellectual obligation. But to assume that those qualities provide an adequate guarantee for the well-being of Indian life is a moral desertion of the masses of the people of India whose misery, in large part, is a product of the very faith to which our excessive tolerance would permanently consign them.

The missionary's task, in this regard, is not a pleasant one. His work concerns people vastly different from that select minority who provide the data for the exponents of India's spiritual sufficiency. He, as well as his highbrow critics, could describe India in the flattering terms of that minority. It is not fear for the effect upon missionary

collections that leads him to descriptions of another sort. He is impelled, rather, by honesty and a Christian desire to bring some helpful ministry to those dire needs of body and soul that are an inescapable part of the life of a vast majority of the Indian people.

The missionary knows, in no academic sense, just what would be involved if the West were to view all India in terms of its cultured few. He continues to write of the squalid mohullahs where most of India lives, not because he enjoys squalor but because he is willing to face it for its destruction. He paints a dark picture of Indian life, not because he prefers to do so, but because he knows that most of India lives in darkness. He makes declarations which antagonize India's cultural clique and sends them out to campaign against him. But he continues to make them, not because he enjoys hostility, but because, even more than for his own social standing with the New Intelligentsia, he is concerned for India's overburdened masses and for the continuance of Christ's ministry among them.

Fully eighty-five per cent of the Indian people live in dire need. Christians who seek escape from that fact in hasty generalizations about the cultural state of the remaining fifteen per cent merely contrive to prolong the world's oldest and most desperate human tragedy. Complacency has no place in the Christian view of India. Men and women who starve, widows who suffer worse than slavery, children with bodies diseased and minds with no chance for growth, small girls forced into hideous bondage —these, for the individual who professes to follow Christ, are the most vital facts of Indian life. And

all the bitterness and brilliant camouflage of India's cultured minority cannot be allowed to turn the Christian from his obligation to these whose futile cries to the gods of Hinduism have reached to altars where God is not futility.

It is out of this need, to-day as in the days of Carey, that the Christian's call to India is created.

But it is more than need that makes India's challenge unique. There are poverty and disease and illiteracy in other lands. Only in India, however, are these conditions so clearly a product of religion; a product, in fact, of the religion which is said to establish the case for India's self-sufficiency.

For the cheapness of human life in India and for its widespread exploitation Hinduism—since it has never burdened the consciences of Indians with the manifold sorrows of their fellow Indians—must be held, largely, responsible. In contact with the misery of that land it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this suffering, in great part, is a product of the unconcern of those who might alleviate it. And it is as inescapable that this unconcern, in turn, is a religious imposition.

There would be poverty in India without Hinduism, as there is in China, but not such despair. Buoyancy and good cheer are Chinese characteristics, which persist in the face of want. They are in like degree found lacking among the Indians. The suffering of the Chinese people is mitigated because in China a certain practical democracy has kept alive some hope under the most intolerable conditions. India, however, has no such hope. Hinduism has written it indelibly on the consciousness of the Indian people that the lot of those who suffer is irremedia-

ble. And it has created a structure of society that is an effective guarantee of the truth of that conviction.

The practice of the Hindu faith is a matter pre-eminently of tolerance and renunciation. When I asked Mahatma Gandhi in what particular Christians had most clearly failed to follow Jesus he said: "You have rejected his ideal of renunciation. Jesus was other-worldly. You have abandoned him by your this-worldliness."

No one will impute that shortcoming to Hinduism. The religion of the Hindu, when it reaches above the level of the taboo, is renunciatory. Gandhi's Ashram, "retreat," at Ahmedabad, and Tagore's "Abode of Peace" at Santineketan are expressions of that ideal at its best. Much lower in the scale is the ancient Hindu sadu, who lies each day on a couch of spikes in front of a very modern garage on one of Bombay's busiest streets. The public practice of renunciation, in fact, is a common sight. Renunciation, moreover, involves tolerance both of good and of evil. When, with complete renunciation, an individual has come to oneness with the infinite, distinctions of right and wrong disappear. "Such a one," declare the Upanishads, "the thought does not torment: 'why have I not done the good?' why have I done the evil?' He who knows this saves himself from both these thoughts. This is the Upanishad mystic doctrine."

Hume points out that for the Hindu "all apparent evils are overcome by immersion of oneself in the non-moral Brahma and by compliance with hereditary social conventions."[1]

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[1]*The World's Living Religions.* Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers. Used by permission.

This combination of renunciation and tolerance does more than to lead to certain strange practices. It relieves the Hindu of responsibility toward his fellows. Its working is something like this: Hinduism is fundamentally pantheistic. Brahma is the one all-inclusive Being; man is an emanation from Brahma, and the world a worthless illusion. High-caste India prays to the all-god and the all-good. But renunciation and tolerance permit the prayer by introducing that element of other-worldliness without which, in the face of India's human needs, pantheism and intelligent self-respect could not be simultaneously maintained. The orthodox Brahman, if unconcerned about his fellows, strives, at least, to be consistent with himself. He believes that God is all and that God is good. But he accepts the implications of his belief and retires to an Ashram or climbs a tree where reality will not confound his syllogism.

One of India's poets has declared that the destiny of his people is "to uplift human history, transport it from the confused valley of material struggles to the high plateaux of spiritual battles." I quoted that declaration with reverence before I went to India. In India I visited the hedged retreat in which this purpose was conceived. There, by the effectiveness of his well-guarded separation "from the confused valley of material struggles" the poet in actual fact is able to live on "the high plateaux of spiritual battles."

But the tragedy is that he lives so much alone. Across his hedge are the people of India, huddled together in squalid huts. Their souls, with their bodies, are dwarfed and emaciated in a confused valley of material struggles from which, from life

to death, there can be no escape. Life reveals to them but one kind of battle—a deplorably uninspiring sort on a despicably low level with the issues those of hunger and disease and caste misery.

Christianity doubtless suffers from this-worldliness. But its gospel by that very fact is breaking down these days the hedges that have grown between India's priests and poets, and her people. The loftiest plateaux of Christian struggle are no higher than the level on which the neediest of Indians live.

After I had had an opportunity at Brindaban to see Hinduism at its best I went to the home of the city's leading Hindu. His house was a sanctuary. Above the delicate carving of the stone door there were inscriptions from the Vedas. He came out onto a little balcony above a quiet portico—an old man, kindly, considerate, godlike. Saffron robes marked his renunciation of the world and the painted triangle on his forehead revealed his orthodox Vishnuism. For a long time we talked together. He told me of the hours, each day, which he spent in prayer and of the knowledge of God which these hours brought him.

But while he talked it was hard to forget the emaciated widows in the temple compound and the deserted temple children, and it occurred to me that Jesus—who also knew God—had insisted that that knowledge should find its final measurement in "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these." So I told my Hindu friend of the things that I had seen and of the stories I had heard about religion in Brindaban. He smiled and shrugged his shoulders.

"That is all true," he said, "and much more that you do not know. But what does that have to do with religion? There is morality and immorality in Hinduism, depression and freedom. But we Hindus are concerned with none of these things. Religion to us is communion of the soul with God; that and nothing more."

And the indifference which is a characteristic mark of Hinduism finds its social expression in the caste system. It is only in regard to caste that Hinduism is intolerant. A Hindu may remain in good standing and worship any object, follow almost any prophet, observe a rigid code of morals or practically none. But for flagrant violation of the rules of caste he is liable to be summarily outcasted.

The function of this rigid system is fairly obvious. By dividing Indian society into more than two thousand mutually exclusive groups caste has reduced human contacts to a minimum. With a well-nigh insurmountable wall it has separated the India of poverty from the India of wealth and leisure. And that vast group of outcastes whose lot is most miserable is furthest beyond help because its members are held to be untouchable. In Indian society, therefore, concern for one's fellow man is unnecessary because its practice is unlawful.

After I had visited Benares I met one day a Hindu sadu who had just completed a pilgrimage to its shrines. He explained that he had gone to the Ganges in quest of God and had failed to find him there. Since it was disease and filth and human misery that had most impressed me at Benares, I suggested to the sadu that with his wealth and edu-

cation a way to God might be found in social helpfulness. But he only smiled at me.

"That is what you Christians always say. For me, a Hindu, I must know God. That knowledge concerns no one but myself and him; and least of all the outcastes of Benares."

The sadu's convictions were consistent with his faith. Hindu society has had neither the ideal nor the incarnation of a good Samaritan. Its presumptions have served to ridicule the man who ministered and to exalt him who passed by on the other side. Such a structure not only produces social impotence, but guarantees to maintain it.

It is there that the real issue arises between India and the Christian West. Christianity is ethical as well as transcendent. It is the concern of God that is revealed in the incarnation. Jesus' ministry was to do good. His other-worldliness did not involve withdrawal but preparation. He lived that others might live more abundantly. And it is his ethical gospel—the constant insistence that spirituality shall justify itself in humanly significant activity—that is transforming India's religious outlook.

And at this point too one finds a partial, I believe a fundamental, explanation of the difference between the status of human life in India and in the West. Western civilization is a very poor expression of the purposes of Jesus. But intimate acquaintance with a religion of good works has unquestionably served to temper its harshness. Christians have often been unmindful of Jesus' gospel of helpfulness. The ideal, however, has not been wholly lost. Organized Christianity, in fact, in reaching for that ideal, has actually become a re-

generative factor in the social and national life of the modern world. But it is significant that a social gospel and a conscience to give it force have always been implicit in the Christian faith. And it is just as significant that the high moments of Christian power—from the days of the first Christians down through Saint Francis to the present—have been those when the implications of the social gospel have been taken with the greatest seriousness.

But the evils of Occidental civilization exist despite the teachings of its dominant religion. India's problem, however, is much more critical because the shortcomings of Indian civilization, in large measure are the product of India's Hindu faith. In the West the ideal and the agency of regeneration are already present. In India they require to be imported. The presence of the missionary is an indication of the belief of Christian people that the gospel of Jesus Christ is sufficient for that regenerative work. The achievements of the missionary furnish proof that it is. Fundamentally, in fact, his business in India is to establish there a faith that in the hands of Indians and through their lives can finally leaven, in body and in spirit, the life of the entire people.

His task, however, is made more difficult because Hindu India, that has nurtured many faiths, has stood steadfastly against the reformations that might save it from its own. It is the history of Protestant movements in India that they have been crushed beneath the structure that they sought to remake or forced out of it entirely to establish a new religion that could carry no threat to Hinduism. No small amount of India's concern for the

spiritual well-being of the West arises from the fact that zealous westerners have invaded India's places of high-caste retreat armed with a faith that is ethical, this-worldly, and intolerant, and have threatened, by their preaching and their practices, the ancient Hindu structure of religious indifference.

When William Carey came to India widow burning was still frequent. The criminal inhumanity of the ceremony enraged him and he journeyed from burning ghat to burning ghat to cry out against it. Neither ridicule nor threats turned him aside. While Indians practiced Sati, Carey dared to stand in the shadow of their shrines to condemn the faith that prescribed it.

Those who followed Carey accepted his tactics. The social conscience which was awakened in the West found active expression in India. Christian intolerance of social evils which was brought to bear in England and in the United States during the last century upon slavery and industrial exploitation, was directed in India against caste and child marriage, disease, and poverty. Missionaries not only condemned the social sins of Indian life in India; they aroused the west to understand their ugliness. And once India's human needs were known they became a burden upon the hearts of earnest Christians in much the same way that the condition of the South African native burdened the heart of England in the days of Wilberforce.

Meanwhile high-caste Indians, through the multiplication of their contacts with the West, began to see India as others saw it. The picture was not pleasant. From the certainty of a caste-protected environment they denied its truth and undertook,

in refutation, to establish the superiority of India's civilization against that of the West.

I have an Indian acquaintance who has lectured for many years in the United States on Hindu civilization. The case he states is made remarkable by the use of a series of parallels. For every deplorable condition that is known to exist in Indian life he has found a similar condition in America. He has familiarized himself with tenement life and describes it to stand with the poverty of India. He has observed the street waif of New York's lower East Side and he pictures them to parallel the child life of India. He refers to our lynching record to offset the accepted accounts of the persecution that is the lot of India's widows.

The reasoning is exceedingly plausible, and I gave it a good deal of credence until I went to India. In India it soon became apparent that this particular argument was significant chiefly because it constituted a comparison of American exceptions with the Indian rule. It is not likely that anyone in America denies the evils of tenement life or of child neglect or lynching. And it must be as plain that the tendency of public opinions is for their eradication.

In India, however, the converse is true. Poverty and child neglect and the degradation of women are as much the rule as tenements and street waifs and lynchings are the exceptions in the United States. Active concern for these problems, moreover, is as much the exception in India as it is the rule in the United States.

When I returned to the United States I met this Indian friend. We fell again to arguing on the

respective merits of Hinduism and Christianity. As a latest bit of proof that Christianity countenances evils of the sort for which India is blamed my Indian friend spread out before me the New York morning paper of that day, which had on the front page the story of the Gary public school strike. The incident in which the Gary school children, at the obvious urge of their parents, refused to attend the same school with Negro pupils was deplorable from every Christian point of view. But the significant fact in contrast to India was that—to the minds of hard-boiled newspaper editors—the happening at Gary was so much the exception to the normal life of the United States that it deserved to be recounted on the front page of the paper.

I read recently a statement made by one of the really great prophets of present-day Christianity to the effect that for his radically Christian social gospel he has met with more opposition—"ten times over"—in "Christian" America than in India. That, I believe, is readily understandable. But it does not prove precisely what was intended. Opposition to a radical social message in the West is, conversely, an expression of the vitality of Christianity. Such opposition springs from the conviction, on the part of those whose interests are endangered, that once a case is made someone is certain to get busy. A radically Christian message on peace or race relations or industrial justice *is* genuinely dangerous because it is definitely certain that someone will do something about it. In high-caste India, however, tolerance has few such risks. There is little fear of a radical message because there is so little chance that radical actions may result.

At the present time in India the task that confronts the Christian is complicated by a further fact. The West's approach to India has been more than religious. It has been economic as well. India, by the hand of the British trader and for good or ill, has been forced unwillingly into the stream of modern progress. The forces operating there are those of the industrial revolution. They may prove, in fact, to be more disruptive in Indian society than they were in the society of nineteenth century England.

And this economic encroachment of the West upon Hinduism is as bitterly opposed by many of India's high-placed intellectuals as the encroachment of Occidental religion—and for much the same reason. The issue is not that the condition of the life of the people would be made worse than at present if India were industrialized. Rather it is that industrialization is a British-sponsored development, and, further, that its progress inevitably involves the collapse of the social structure of Hinduism.

Foremost among these who decry industrialism is Mahatma Gandhi. And Mr. Gandhi—among all of India's leaders—is the great exponent of social regeneration. But the most striking fact in Mr. Gandhi's movement is the extent, from an industrial point of view, of its failure. There is every evidence to support the remark of an Indian labor leader that "India, which reveres Gandhi, refuses to follow him."

Khadder has practically disappeared from the streets of India's cities. During the period 1921 to 1923, when the effect of non-co-operation should have been most apparent, the number of registered

factories in India increased from four thousand fifty-nine to five thousand nine hundred eighty-three, and the number of those employed in industry increased nearly eleven per cent. A nation that raises more than one half the world's supply of sugar cane, one half—the better half, in British opinion—of the world's tea; that has a complete monopoly of jute; stands second only to the United States in cotton production and almost as high in the production of wheat and rice, has progressed too far on the road toward industrialism to be turned back.

But there are perils attendant upon this progress which never existed in the West. These perils confront the Christian and complicate his task. Industrial development in the West has never been wholly free from the critical scrutiny of those who strove, if vainly at times, to mitigate the evils that came in its train. Western civilization, because in part, at any rate, it is Christian and Christianity is basically ethical, has been forced to conform to certain ideals and invested gradually with human significance. In India, however, this critical interest is lacking. The social structure of Hinduism, that has guaranteed the Indian in indifference toward the ancient miseries of his fellows, prevents his widespread helpful concern for the solution of these more modern problems.

And the alert Christian in India is aware of what lies ahead. He can watch the zemindar—the landowner whose economic exploitation of his fellow Indians probably knows no parallel in the world. And he can understand what new miseries will be added to the total of India's suffering when the greed and mercilessness of the zemindar finds expression

in terms of modern industrialism. Hinduism—that has never established a faith in the inestimable worth of the individual—is as impotent to prepare men to deal with this new force as it has been to arouse them to destroy the ancient exploitative system of caste.

The prevalent attitude toward industrialism is to ignore or to condemn it rather than to attempt its transformation. Its coming furnishes an admirable text for attack upon Great Britain, but only rarely a challenge to consider the complex human problems presented by the thousands of Indians who live in the overcrowded chawls of Bombay or work in the tea gardens of Assam. The problem itself doubtless is of foreign importation. But it has become indigenous. Indian industries increasingly are coming into the control of Indian capitalists. But even with that control lacking, industrialism in that land will be in large measure as good or as evil as high-placed Indians themselves permit.

And aware of India's Hindu-bred indifference, but with only a paltry backing the missionary realizes that this problem for the saving of India involves him in a desperate race between the establishment of his message and the progress of industrialism.

There are some notable and little advertised exceptions to this rule of indifference. A *Directory of Social Work in India* has been published by the Social Service League of Bombay. The list is imposing. It includes, of course, a large number of Christian missionary enterprises, but the total of the entirely Indian and, technically, non-Christian agencies is significant. I have seen something of the work of the Deshbandhu Village Reorganization

Committee in Bengal. In some twenty-five centers of that province Indian social workers have succeeded not only in opening schools, improving agriculture, establishing health centers, but have made progress toward the creation of "a spirit of self-reliance and self-help in the people themselves."

The last decade, moreover, has witnessed the rise of a trade union movement modeled closely after that of the British Isles. The success of this undertaking has an added significance because the Indians in its leadership have rejected many of the ideas and most of the practices of the popular spokesman of India to the West. They have set themselves to deal with India's material problems in much the same way that they have been dealt with among people who are, confessedly at any rate, more materialistic.

It was N. M. Joshi, the chief of these labor leaders, who told me that "India is chasing the almighty rupee as eagerly as you of America chase the almighty dollar. The generally accepted belief that we Indians are of a more spiritual race is stuff and nonsense." The weakness of Mr. Joshi's position is not in a lack of facts upon which to base it but a lack of support, among Indians, for the plans which the facts have led him to initiate.

But whether or not India's claim to spiritual superiority is "stuff and nonsense," a serious study of Indian life is rather certain to lead to the conviction that its appealingly low level is maintained because of the religion upon which that claim is rested. If there are superior spiritual endowments in India's civilization, the needs of the people of that land cry out for their helpful employment. The

transcendent values of Hinduism will continue to be questioned so long as the shrines of that faith continue to symbolize the gulf that has been fixed between those who stand in need and those who might minister.

I went to India fed up with the intolerance of Christianity. I did not believe in the sentiments of many of our missionary messages and in the expressions of many of our mission hymns. But away from the wide porticoes and quiet classrooms of India's cultured minority I saw another India—not talked of over the tea. It is to this India that the missionary has gone. It is there that he proposes to stay until the life of Jesus Christ shall have transformed the life of India.

The missionary's message, since it involves unpleasant facts and more unpleasant responsibilities, may sound intolerant to the New Intelligentzia. But he proposes to continue to give it until these facts have been displaced by others, fashioned after Christian standards. It is not important, meanwhile, that the few resent the missionary's message. He is content if he can carry on with a ministry of kindliness and hope and recreating power in that "other" India where, heavy with ancient fears,

> "The heathen in his blindness
> Bows down to wood and stone."

CHAPTER V

INDIA

What Christianity Offers India

Basic to the Christian ministry in India is the conception of the Fatherhood of God. The fourteenth chapter of John's Gospel reveals to India a new Personality at the heart of the universe. And with an understanding of that Personality the face of the universe itself is changed. To conceive of God the Father as Jesus did, and to accept Jesus himself as evidence that "God so loved the world," is to believe at once, in the inestimable worth of the human individual. And this ideal of the highest worth of the lowest man is as revolutionary in India as it is fundamental in Christianity. It represents the foundation upon which a regenerated India can be built.

I visited—as all travelers in India do—the sacred city of Benares. I hired a small boat and drifted down the Ganges under the ancient skyline of temples, white pillars, and gold domes towering toward the sun; past the burning ghats, gray spirals of smoke twisting over them, and on to the foot of the great stone steps that lead back into the tangled streets of the city. The Ganges at Benares is a panorama of India at prayer. To bathe in the crowded stream, to sit for a while in the cool shade of its shrines, to offer flowers—great bunches of marigolds and jasmine—to its idols, to fill a brass loti with sacred water and carry it away for future de-

votions—these are the things of all others most desired by the devout Hindu.

I lived in Benares at the home of an English missionary. Twenty years before he had gone up to Oxford from his English home, a product of British aristocracy, with a career assured him in the public life of England. But at Oxford an understanding came to this young Englishman of the meaning of God's concern for men. And graduated there, he turned his back upon the certainties of life in England and went, a Christian missionary, to India and to Benares.

It was the obvious thing in that city of Hindu culture to go at once to the high-caste Brahmans. They were, many of them, men of education. Tea and golf, literature and art, speculation and debate—these things were a part of their life—a congenial life for a young man just through Oxford. But the ideal of a Fatherly God was fixed in his mind and he looked, therefore, for a place where there was human need. He found his field eventually in the outskirts of Benares, among the Doms, the city's untouchable scavengers.

Their lives were lived out in filth and disease, ignorance and fear. Their huddled huts, patched together with flattened oil tins, bits of boards and rags salvaged from the dumps, were hovels of misery. Every man's hand was turned against them. They scurried along the streets like frightened animals. Centuries of elaborate worship down at the temples that line the Ganges had never alleviated their lot; the countless gods and godesses of the city's shrines, the most potent in all Hinduism, were wholly heedless, as they had always been, of their suffering and

impotent to relieve it. The priests of Hinduism had never been stirred from their devotions to a helpful ministry among them.

But this young Englishman went into their midst. For fifteen years now he has gone in and out among their huts. Pushing their vile carts along the streets they hail him, alone perhaps in all the city, as a friend. And he stops and talks to them while the devout throngs pass by, wondering, on the other side. He has healed them and brought them food. He has founded an industrial school for their children. He has revealed their equality of relationship in the family of a Father God. He has established his gospel in the shadow of Hinduism's most sacred altars and with it some proof that for India's salvation this Christian conception of the infinite worth of the lowliest of mankind is necessary.

In one of India's sacred cities a Hindu priest told me that every year several hundred illegitimate children—the offcasting of the temples of the place—are thrown into the Jumna that flows beneath the shrines.

"There is no place for them here," he said by way of explanation. "There is only misery in store if they live. And the Jumna, you know, is a sacred river."

He did not know, of course, of the Christian hospital in that city, or of the nursery that had been established in it. But some of the temple mothers knew. On that day two babies, naked and starving, were left deserted at its compound gate. And the American doctor and her assistants, with a multitude of tasks, bathed and clothed and fed them and

put them tenderly to sleep in tiny home-built cribs. However rejected in the temples of Hinduism, the spark of life in these abandoned babies had established, from the standpoint of that Christian hospital, that they were of the kindred of God.

And that night we read that there were "brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and prayed: and the disciples rebuked them." But Jesus said, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven. And he laid his hands on them. . . ." In that scripture there seemed to be adequate authority for the day's work.

It is in business of this sort—lowly, human business—that Christianity in India is engaged. There is work of many sorts—and workers. But final transactions are always reckoned in terms of Indian life. There are flaws in the machinery by which this job is being done and mistakes in its manner of operation. There are misfits among the operating personnel. The accumulated criticism of administrative technicians may remedy these faults. But whether remedial or not, they cannot destroy the fact that, in the face of Hindu unconcern, Christians have revealed by their practices a gospel of the infinite worth of India's despised and outcast millions. In that is the beginning of individual and of social regeneration.

But Christianity in India does more than reveal. It verifies. Jesus stands unique in India, defying classification in the galaxy of her religious leaders. All the efforts of many wise and devout followers of Krishna and Vishnu and Mohammed have failed to hold him within the limits that confine the proph-

ets of India's older faiths. His status is on a different plane. This is the case, not because of the brilliance and eloquence with which he has been defended, but because of the nature of the things that he has done. While others debate his claims in the classrooms and retreats of India he is establishing them in its bazaars and along its dusty, burdened roads. His life in India finds a final apologetic in the transformations he has wrought in the lives of Indians. And the masses of that land overburdened physically and spiritually, constitute a challenge that has no parallel for the exercise of his experimental faith.

There is a young Christian preacher in North India—a Brahman—who told me, one day, of his experience with this demonstrable religion that the missionaries have brought to India. Born to social superiority, he was sent as a lad to a Brahman school. In his leisure, in typical Indian fashion, he talked religion with his schoolmates. Before his school days were done he had gone, with them, through the Vedas, the Koran, and the New Testament, and back, triumphantly, to the Vedas again.

But with all the discussion this particular Hindu was not altogether content. He proposed to test for himself the things that he had talked about. When he left the school, therefore, he started out on pilgrimage. He put off the fine-spun clothes for the coarser garments of the road—that were soon grayed with dust. He stored away the accoutrements of soft living, packed up a few essentials in a heavy cloth, swung the bundle over his shoulder, and began his religious quest.

He made the round of Hinduism's religious moun-

taintops—Benares, Brindaban, Allahabad, Muttra. But his uncertainty increased. Disillusioned from months on India's dust-choked roads he came to a final city. It too was a place of pilgrimage. The streets—narrow, dust-blanketed streets—were thronged with priests and sadhus, holy men in sun-faded saffron robes; and lined with shops that did a thriving business in the paraphernalia of worship. There were temples and shrines without number, housing gods enough for the worship of many multitudes.

Here the young pilgrim journeyed from shrine to shrine and from temple to temple. And even while he prayed and meditated and talked with the priests he knew that his pilgrimage had ended; that he had failed to prove his faith or to find an answer to the doubts that surged within him.

And then while he waited in a temple courtyard he heard of the missionary. Still determined in his quest, he sought him out. Now, the missionary was old-fashioned. He had been in India for many years. And year after year as he watched these endless lines of pilgrims come and go before the gods of Hinduism he came to know that neither in the shrines of the city nor before the gods that they contained were Indians finding God. That knowledge bred in him a certain measure of intolerance, intolerance of religious half-way houses. He knew that Christianity represented to India what India's pilgrims sought: not alone a new ideal of life but a new power to live.

The young pilgrim, therefore, when he found this missionary found a new kind of religious individual, one that he had not known before. With the re-

ligion of argument and speculation the Hindu inquirer was thoroughly familiar. But he had never before seen the religion of experience and of social passion.

The two men talked together. After the custom of old-fashioned Christians they prayed together. The pilgrim returned, day after day, to sit with the missionary. And the Hindu in the end found God.

But he paid a price for his discovery. It was noised abroad in the bazaars and in the temple that he had frequented that the Brahman had gone off to the Christians. The priests stirred up trouble. He was thrown into jail. The missionary interceded and he was finally released into a different world. His past, with its possessions, was gone entirely. For the future he had only a vital faith and a job to do.

It was to help with that last—the job—that the missionary rented a small room down in the bazaar. And the young Brahman, defying the insults of the crowds, preached each day in the narrow street before it. In the little rented room he founded an Ashram, a retreat of the kind with which Hindu pilgrims are familiar.

Now for several years he has carried on there. Those who come in remove their shoes and sit on the floor in Indian fashion. He too sits on the floor and talks of the Vedic Scriptures, of the Koran and of the teachings of the New Testament. But most of all he recounts the story of his own pilgrimage and of the Person and the experience that he found at the end of it.

In Jubbulpore I met another young Christian of high-caste birth. He is studying there in preparation for the ministry. Before I left he wrote out for

me the story of his conversion. As I read it now I can see that it contains a great deal that is deeply mystical; that its expressions reveal scant regard for the terminology or the explanations of modern psychology. But whatever its standing from the viewpoint of scientific technique it represents, for this young man an actual experience that transformed him and changed the course of his life. It is, again, the Christian gospel—verified.

"When I was conscious of myself," he writes, "I found that I was God-forsaken, forlorn, friendless, homeless, and a castaway. . . . I left Calcutta in haste for Benares, that I might be relieved of my sin. . . . I went to the Ramkrishna mission, a monastic society, where I thought I could do penance for my sin. . . . I revolted against their teaching and left the Ashram on the plea of traveling to the Himalayas. But I found not Him for whom I had left all. Month after month, in quiet meditation, in strict penance in the Himalayas I pursued this quest. . . .

"I said to myself, 'Why shouldn't I die if I do not find him? If I do not get his commandments, if my life does not become his, . . . take my life away in this world that I may enter another and live where there will be no parting from Thee.'

"I fell sick. . . . In my utter despair I became an atheist. . . . But always my atheism was forced, and once more I made up my mind to unravel this mystery. This time I took a vow of silent suffering. . . .

"I was no more a figure than a skeleton. My mind was upset and my heart perturbed. The world seemed to me a mockery and there was no peace

in my heart. I had a little booklet, *On the Imitation of Christ.* On the first page of this book I had written a verse from a hymn that, long before, I had heard. Now, of a sudden, I turned to it and it was my constant companion, my healing balm:

> 'Poor, weak, and worthless though I am,
> I have a rich, almighty friend;
> Jesus the Saviour is his name;
> He freely loves and without end.'

"I had never read the Bible, but had heard of Jesus in my boyhood. I had no picture of him in my mind to which I could refer. But on a memorable night of Erdasi (the eleventh day of the moon when the Hindus observe a fast) I went down to the river Jumna to drink. For three days I had been fasting. I staggered along the bank of the stream. I fell to my knees in the sand and prayed. And the page of that little book stood before me:

> "Poor, weak, and worthless though I am,
> I have a rich almighty friend."

"I hardly know what happened, but I slept that night by the Jumna. And the next day, when I awoke, a new strength and joy filled me. . . . I walked back to the city as in a dream land. . . . I came, then, to Brindaban, and met the Christian padri. I told him about my experience. He was overwhelmed with joy.

" 'Friend,' he said, 'you need not ask anything from me now. You are fortunate to get acquainted with a Greater Person than I.'

"He told me the meaning of my experience. 'It is Jesus whom you have seen,' he said, and he prayed

with me. . . . I came back to him, day after day, with a happy heart. . . . I was baptized by the padri. . . .

"That is my history of conversion."

From every vital viewpoint, it is authentic history.

At a crossroads bazaar in an Indian city a native pastor stood up to preach. A crowd—there are always crowds—was quick to gather. At the edge of the throng stood two Brahmans—self-satisfied, aloof. The preacher made extraordinary claims for his faith. He talked about Jesus. He described the miracles.

The Brahmans laughed. One of them shouted an interruption: "These miracle stories are very fine for the people of the bazaar. But I don't believe them. Show us one to-day."

"What do you mean by miracles?" the preacher inquired. "Would you consider it miraculous if an untouchable scavenger should rise to a place of learning, where even Brahmans would listen to his teachings?"

"I would."

"In me," said the preacher, "there is just such a miracle. I have been brought from the lowest of the low by the miracle of Christ in India."

In that very city the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church is an orphan, deserted by his outcast parents and salvaged by missionaries from the great famine of 1896. The headmaster of the large Christian school and the assistant headmaster are untouchables. Under the undisputed leadership of these two men more than one hundred caste Hindus and Mohammedans carry on their teaching. In that

fact, in India, there is revolution and an unanswerable Christian apologetic.

It is thus that Christianity has proclaimed to India the inestimable worth of the human personality and, with a redemptive gospel, has established the validity of that proclamation. It has placed a Christian indorsement upon India's quest of God and has supplied a Personality able to bring that quest to its culmination. It has aroused the highest aspiration among India's lowliest classes and has provided a power for their realization. It has held before India's seeking multitudes a vision of the matchless possibilities of a people whose fundamental concern is to come to a knowledge of God, and has opened a way in which those possibilities may come to their fulfillment.

But Christianity in India stands for more than a new relationship between God and man. It stands also for an order of society in keeping with that relationship. The Christian's personal experience in India is no more an end than it was in the life of Jesus. In fact, insofar as the missionary program has emphasized "conversion" as the final fact in the Christianizing of the individual, it has tended to confirm rather than to transform the subjectivity and unconcern out of which so many of the evils of Hindu society arise. It is not safe in India, if it is in the West, to lead a man to the altar and trust that, when he leaves it, he will act as a Christian should. Some social pressure and practise are needful to finish his salvation. But the Christian evangelist has frequently assumed that his major task was at an end with the clipping of the Hindu lock and the laying on of hands. To swell the

baptism roll is not just now the chief task of the missionary in India. Rather it is to Christianize the life of those who already, in the records, are reported to be Christians.

I recall the remark of one veteran missionary: "I keep a close tab on the baptismal returns of my preachers. When one of them falls off for a month or so I jump into my Ford and hurry out to see him. I know that he needs spurring."

About that last sentence there may be no question. But about the matter of ascertaining the spiritual status of the preacher by the baptismal overturn there should be considerable question. The important query, right now, is not How many, but What kind? The complex of numerical expansion that has laid hold of the church in the West is a critical handicap in India. It is, in fact, so critical a handicap that several of the most remarkable and promising pieces of missionary work in India are under constant fire because they "fail to produce results," that is, baptisms.

The numbers already within the Christian Church in India are probably adequate for the revolutionizing, from top to bottom, of the life of that land. The revolution is already under way. For its speeding some merit might be found in a baptismal holiday. Temporarily freed from statistical coercion, the missionary could take stock of his real resources. His program, then, could be designed, first of all, to develop rather than to extend. The church might suffer a decline in numbers but not in Christian spirit.

Meanwhile there is no field where a social gospel is so indispensable to the Christian message as in

India. This is the case, on the one hand, because of the ancient, oppressive order of Hindu society, and, on the other hand, because of the evils appearing in the train of modern industrialism. Christianity that fails to revolutionize the one and to temper the other will fail entirely in what may be its major mission in India. India's life, by such a failure, will miss that complete redemption which Christians have proclaimed; and, by like token, will almost surely fail in the world mission for which a spiritually-minded India—Christianized—is destined.

At this point some extravagant claims have been made for Christianity in India which the facts do not altogether justify. The destruction of caste is undoubtedly implied in the Christian message. But the practices of Christians have not always borne out this implication. Caste, by the fact of baptism, is not necessarily broken. Very often the converted individual is merely baptized from his Hindu caste into the caste of the Christian.

That a Christian caste does exist is both undeniable and intolerable. Individuals who have been lifted by the Christian message and program from the lowest of the low to a place of education and some leadership seem to come into quick possession of an overdeveloped class consciousness. The gulf between them and those from whom they come and for whom they should serve is very often almost as wide as that between high-caste and low-caste Hindu. They are the victims of a "white-collar" complex. The "dignity" of their position is an affliction.

I have a friend whose Christian school outlined a program of manual labor for the boys in attendance. Immediately the Christian pastors made ve-

hement protest, and those who could afford it withdrew their sons and sent them to schools where "degrading" work was not necessary.

This situation is not altogether due to the Hindu background. It is due in part also to the missionary program that has tended to follow a policy of "spoon-feeding." If rules as rigid as those against immorality and drunkenness had been enforced in regard to the dignity of labor, a different social outlook would certainly have resulted. But, unfortunately that emphasis has been widely lacking. To remedy the situation will require conscious effort.

But it is also true that many converts do not find escape from their outcaste position but remain, from many points of view, as much Hindu as before baptism. They are illiterate and superstitious. They observe caste rules and ceremonies. Fear lest by losing their status they will be unable to secure the marriage of their children is a powerful influence to prevent the break.

In this situation there is great significance in a Separatist movement that is now under way in certain provinces. Among these Separatist Christians, who continue to live in their own villages, there is a definite break with caste. The consequences are sometimes disastrous. Neither their former Hindu associates nor those who are caste Christians welcome them. They are obliged to live apart from the rest of the community. They cannot secure water from the caste wells. The food of the villagers is forbidden them. I know of one such family where, when the baby girl died, neither Hindu nor "Christians" in the village would extend help. The father was obliged to walk several miles for aid

to the nearest village where other Separatists were known to live.

Despite prosecutions the number of these who are standing firm for the new relationship is constantly growing. The missionaries who are lending their aid to the movement are, I believe, rendering a great service both for the destruction of caste and the Christianizing of the church in India. Meanwhile it involves a serious problem to attempt the further evangelization of non-Christian India before the practical responsibilities of Christian relationship are more fully accepted by those who, already are on the church records and, frequently, on its payrolls.

It is in this intensive work of character development that the Christian schools of India are largely engaged. The very foundations of modern education in India were laid by Christian missionaries. The beginnings go back to a secluded room in Saint Andrews University, where young Alexander Duff paced back and forth before his open hearth debating with himself his future course. His decision, made that night in his book-walled student quarters, was for India. And with Duff's going there began that long succession of brilliant young men who since have followed in his train from the greatest universities of the Western world to found and carry on the Christian schools of India.

Modern schools for the young men of India were an innovation. Modern schools for women were revolutionary. In 1870, in the old Moslem city of Lucknow, Miss Isabella Thoburn opened a school for girls in a mud-walled room in one of the city's bazaars. Sixteen years later, on the ancient estate

of the lord treasurer of the last kingdom of the Moghul Empire, this one-room school was refounded as the first college for women in all Asia.

To-day it is part of the history of Isabella Thoburn College—history that typifies Christian education throughout India—that it established the first kindergarten in India, graduated the first Arya Samaj B. A., the first Bachelor of Science who later became the first Moslem woman doctor in India, the first woman to receive an M. A. in North India, the first woman agriculturist, and the first woman dentist in India, the first woman in charge of an Indian Boys' High School.

More recently the problem of village education has become a major Christian consideration. Eighty-nine per cent of India's three hundred twenty million people live in villages. The life of these villagers is a measure of the need of the land. Poverty and debt and ignorance are the universal burdens from which there is no easy escape. If there is a school, only caste children—despite laws to the contrary—are allowed in its classes. The vast numbers of low-caste people live in the least desirable fringes of the villages. Their mud-walled huts lean crazily together. The streets between them are narrow twisted passageways.

Yet it is in these outcaste quarters—beyond the boundaries of hope—that Christianity has assumed its greatest responsibilities. Up to the past few years, however, that hope has been more evangelistic than educational. Outcaste children, taken to the mission school, have been educated away from rather than for village usefulness. The result is apparent when it is known that in one district alone of the

Methodist Episcopal Church there are seventy thousand children of Christian parents for whom there are no schools of any sort, either day schools or Sunday schools.

A changed emphasis, however, is leading to a direct approach to this problem. Pioneer work has been done by such institutions as the Presbyterian school in Moga in the Punjab. A newer enterprise of the same general nature has just been established at the Ingraham Training Institute at Ghaziabad, where the curriculum is designed for the practical life of the village.

This too is the purpose behind the story of Ushagram (the village of the new day), a model village at Asansol in the province of Bengal. When I visited Asansol the village was a going concern, with home-built houses for the boys, gardens, for them to cultivate, civic responsibility.

The houses were full, each with six boys. The Head Boys from each cottage constituted the Punchayat, the town council of India's villages. One of the members of the Punchayat was chosen Head Man of the village. The management of the place, with the missionary as councilor, was in the hands of the Punchayat. It levied taxes on each "family" for the support of the lantern street lights, carried on daily inspection of the houses, and allocated the work of the village—all of which, even to the outcaste work of sweeping, is done by the boys themselves; and enforced whatever disciplinary measures were necessary.

The village is run on a business basis, with a savings bank, a postoffice, a carpentry shop. Plans are under way for the construction of a community

church. Each home is a center for the religious life of the village. Each morning there are family prayers, led by the Head Boy, and in the evening the entire group meets for vesper devotions. Every week a gospel team goes out from Ushagram to sing, in true Indian fashion, the story of Christianity.

The aim of the school, of course, is to prepare young men for useful living. Of last year's graduating class three boys are now running electric cranes in a nearby industrial plant. They have become Christian laymen in the Asansol community. One boy is a first-class blacksmith; another is preparing for the ministry—the village ministry; another to teach—in the village; two are on their fathers' farms raising better crops; another is learning the carpentry trade.

There are nearly seven hundred thousand villages in India, and Ushagram is a very small place; but it provides proof, in miniature, of what can be done for the remaking of India's rural life. More important, it serves to demonstrate just how practical and transforming the Christian message can be made.

But the social gospel wherever it has been given an adequate working chance in India has revealed —as it always does—how much it is a part of the Christian's message of salvation.

I traveled to Lahore, capital of India's great northwest; the city from which the journeyings of Kim—beloved of all travelers—began. This province of the Punjab, extending up to Khyber Pass and the borders of Afghanistan, has all the characteristics of a frontier territory. The Punjabis are upstanding, self-reliant, courageous, and possessed of

a sense of humor. From them, incidentally, are recruited the world-famous Sikh policemen who keep order at most of the important crossroads of the East.

But the problems of the Punjab are those of the rest of India: of food and schools, cleanliness and health, new horizons of the mind and new certainties of the soul.

My missionary pilot took me out, a cold night ride on a bouncing accommodation train to the place where, in a practical, next-to-the-people way, he is tackling these problems. Our destination was not a town but Chak 134—a geographical designation. Off the train we re-embarked, more hazardously, on two camels and wallowed off, like a North Atlantic freighter, to a speck of a village five miles across the sand.

It was early morning when we arrived. The Christians of the place were on hand to meet us. With them we squatted around a fire in a corner of one of their mud-walled homes. The sun climbed over the compound wall. The woman of the house appeared, scoured her pewter pots with the ashes of last night's fire, mixed and rolled out breakfast cakes and baked them in a commodious brass skillet.

When we had finished and rose to go, the spokesman—he looked like a Punjabi Saint John—hesitated a moment and then said: "We never start the day out here without a word of prayer."

So he led us, in a morning service of devotion, and then guided us—it seemed a very practical follow-up—out to the little village that the Christians are building.

Five years ago the land where they are living was

a desert. The missionary is peopling it with Christians from the overcrowded district of the Punjab. He has secured irrigation rights. The land is being paid for. There are mud-walled schools and churches and homes. Evangelism is making a community.

Our visit was at the time of the sugar-cane harvest. We followed the men to the fields. Better seeds, new methods for harvesting, new machines for pressing the cane, co-operative organizations for buying and selling—these are a part of Christianity's healing message; a vital part, as healing was a vital part of the ministry of Jesus.

On the way back to Lahore the missionary explained to me something of the co-operative organizations that he has introduced.

"The purpose of the co-operative," he said, "is first, to free the villagers from the clutches of the landowning zemindar, whose interest rates range upward from seventy-five per cent; and, second, to develop in the village power for community development.

"We have organized co-operative credit societies. The rates are only twelve per cent. Last year, at this rate, one of our communities bought a large supply of cord wood at bargain prices in Lahore, held it for the demand and sold at a profit which was reinvested in various community projects.

"Now, in several places, we have gone on to a co-operative educational system. In such an organization every member is obliged to send his children to school for a certain period every year until they have reached the age of thirteen. Fines are imposed for every unexcused absence. Compulsory educa-

tion is thus a matter of community concern and the old arguments against taking little children from the fields for school are overcome."

In the missionary's study that night I went over, with him, the plans for an Industrial and Agricultural Institute. There were no funds in hand, only a typewritten prospectus. But at its end was a statement that deserves quotation:

> Jesus wrought miracles to feed the hungry. He commanded his disciples, "Give ye them to eat."
>
> "But, Master," they said, "two hundred pennyworth of bread would not be sufficient that every one might take a little."
>
> "Command the people to sit down."
>
> And Jesus' miracle working power was revealed before the multitude and for their need.
>
> Here in the Punjab Jesus stands before another multitude. His voice now is raised as it was two thousand years ago, in their behalf: "Give ye them to eat."
>
> And those of us who work for Him are obliged to answer: "But, Master, it would take many thousands of dollars to buy land enough to give each one even a small start."
>
> And there, up to now, our plan to carry out his command has halted. While India's Christians too frequently hunt for white-collar jobs, the masses of the people still cry out for bread. We cannot remain Christian in India and continue to evade that issue."

In the end, of course, the leadership for this comprehensive program of Christianity must be Indian. And that leadership is appearing. It is appearing, in fact, not only within the Christian Church but outside of it. When I asked Mahatma Gandhi what Christianity had achieved in his land he replied: "It has accomplished one thing not measured in the

baptismal reports. It has quickened the religious life of the Indian people."

That tribute is significant enough. To "quicken," on the authority of Webster, is "to make alive," "resuscitate," "revive." Foreign missions at its best in India, has sought to do just that; to bring into the crowded, confused religious life of that land a spirit that lives and moves, that has compassion and is plenteous in mercy. Religion in India and the Indian people have waited long for such a quickening influence.

This quickening influence has extended beyond the bounds of India into Burmah. There a Christian community is developing that includes in its membership Indians and Chinese as well as Burmese. I asked the inspector of police in the city of Pegu what he thought of Christianity in his town. His reply was significant: "If everyone lived here as the Christians do, I would be out of a job. Somehow or other I never have trouble from Christian people, and I find that when the test comes they can always be trusted."

In Rangoon I talked one day to a prominent business man who has wide dealings with native people, and he declared that "business with the Christians is an entirely different matter than with non-Christians. They are honest; they pay their debts; they are diligent. In other words, their lives seem actually to be founded on the gospel that they preach."

Of course in Burmah, as elsewhere in the non-white world, this Christian profession is costly for those who follow it. I met the two pastors of the Methodist churches in Pegu. Both of them are young men. When they were still younger they ac-

cepted Christianity, one at sixteen years of age and the other at seventeen. Both immediately were outlawed from their homes and by their friends. They were persecuted; ruffians were set on their trail, but the two lads held to their faith and have gathered around them now in Pegu growing communities of other Christian young people.

In India this quickening Christian influence is no longer so wholly confined to the outcaste group. I attended a great gathering in Benares of Hindu scholars, teachers, and public men, who had met to listen to Dr. Stanley Jones. Without apology Doctor Jones declared that he had come with but one purpose, "to speak about Christ." And for a week the great tabernacle tent was thronged with the city's leading non-Christians to hear this Christ message. At the end of the week there was, I believe, no baptismal service. Neither was there, so far as the records go, a baptismal service after Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. Of much more importance, in both instances, was the fact that the life of Christ and his spirit had been brought into more intimate contact with the lives of men and women. In a ministry of that sort there is a courageous, even Christlike, disregard of conventional "results." But there is also a positive advancing of the supremacy of Jesus throughout the land.

This quickening of India's religious thought, and its gradual direction is a process that goes on in every mission school. There is a definite evangelism involved when Hindus and Mohammedans are associated with Christian youth, when they sing, together, Christian hymns, study under Christian teachers, join in devotions, in Bible reading and in

prayer, with Christians. To doubt the significance of this ministry is to ignore, on the one hand, the results that have been achieved and, on the other hand, to call into question the potency of the Christian gospel.

This effort to Christianize the mind of India has been largely confined to the Hindu population. Now, however, a great center is to be established in Lahore for the training of Christian workers among India's ninety million Moslems. At Lahore, under a scholarly leadership, a comprehensive program is to be outlined for reaching the Mohammedan students, preparing literature to circulate among Moslems, and training leaders who can go out to an intelligent and sympathetic ministry in Moslem communities.

But with new problems facing it, the Christian Church in India is confronted with a challenge for a new investment. Pioneer missionaries have gone out for more than a century to bring the gospel of good news. Pioneer missionaries are needed now to demonstrate in personal and social relationships, the gospel of the good life. To-day's task is as difficult and as significant as that of yesterday. The old appeal was made that men might "hear." The new appeal must be made that men may be trained and prepared to "act." It is no longer enough to prepare statistics of the number of those who are awaiting baptism. It is more important to know what has happened to those who have been baptized and that, further, needs to happen. The old appeal was a reflection of our consecration to the task of spreading the Christian message. The new appeal constitutes an opportunity to prove the truth and life-wide workability of that message.

CHAPTER VI

MALAYA

Christianity at the Crossroads of the East

Many of the earliest pages of the history of the white man in the East were written in Malacca. There were Portuguese explorers, a goodly sprinkling of freebooters, Dutch traders, and the British—staking out the world. Van Riebeck landed there, fought, traded and governed long before he founded Cape Town. Saint Xavier, carrying the gospel under the flag of Portugual, raised a great stone cross on the hill above its harbor. Years later, new empires flourishing, Robert Morrison preached in the English chapel and toiled over his Chinese translation of the Bible.

Those were great days for Malacca. To-day the city prospers, but in a quiet, uneventful way. The cross-roads of the East have moved down the coast with the lanes of sea-born commerce, to Singapore. A few tourists, braving an eight-hour journey from the beaten path, visit the Old Town, the Fort, the church and hurry back to Singapore with arms full of canes.

But the story of Protestant missions in Malacca is, in miniature, the same story that one finds up and down the Peninsula. It is, in this particular case, a mixture of many things—Bibles and opium, a letter, Moslems, a conversion, and a drive for funds. It began a quarter of a century ago.

In 1902 a young Englishwoman came to Malacca. She was an itinerating representative of the British Bible Society. She traveled from house to house among the Chinese residents of the city. Occasionally she was invited in to drink tea and to explain her mission. In one of these homes a young girl, who had bought a Bible, desired to know what possible cause could have driven the English girl so far from her home on so strange a mission. The missionary explained in detail, told her the story of Jesus, and went out to continue her rounds. The next day a note came from this young Chinese:

"My father overheard our conversation," it read. "He was very pleased to hear from Jesus again. Forty years ago he heard his story in a Sunday-school class in America. He had not heard of him since. He asks that you come back to our house."

That invitation ended the young missionary's itinerating, for after many visits this entire Chinese family were converted and their home became the center for a Christian school. There were difficulties. The members of the Chinese community were enraged that one of its families had turned to Christianity.

"For years," they said, "we have been sending our girls to the convent. They have never before been seriously tempted to be Christian. We must beware of this new brand."

One pupil, therefore, was the limit of the first enrollment. Within a year the bitterness against this "new branch" of Christianity began to disappear. The school grew. It has continued to grow for a quarter of a century. Last year the Chinese of Malacca gave $50,000 for the erection of a new

plant which is now complete from a domestic science laboratory to a conservatory of music.

But that is only a part of the story. With the school there came a church. And young graduates of the school, scattering in nearby villages talked to their friends about Christianity and forwarded requests for preachers. A missionary evangelist came to Malacca. He planted churches out through the rubber country and made them self-supporting. He started competition with the government opium monopoly. He went outside his Chinese constituency and talked Christianity with the Moslems and built, on the back of the mission property, a string of ramshackle houses for a Moslem student hostelry.

His competition with the opium needs a further word of explanation. The government of the Straits handles the opium trade. It has made a "respectable" business of it. It had to make the business "respectable," since about forty-five per cent of the annual income of the Straits Settlements comes from opium. The alternative, for the British community, is high taxes. So it is convenient to conclude with one British official who declared to me: "There's no sentiment among the foreigners against the opium trade. We know it does no harm to the Chinese. There would never be an issue at all if it were not for the meddling missionaries."

It is hard to see how the missionaries, so long as they remain Christian, can avoid "meddling." A few of them, unfortunately, seem to make this effort. I have heard it publicly maintained, by missionary leaders in Malaya, that "the first duty of the missionary is loyalty to the British government." And this policy of "loyalty first" seemed to lead these

same spokesmen, when the opium issue arose, to evade it by declaring that a much worse situation prevails in the Dutch East Indies. The rank and file of Christian workers, however, are uncompromising on this question. There is hardly any Christian alternative.

In the villages that I visited in Malaya the finest building is always the opium shop, with clean rooms, cheap smokes, pipes provided by the government, and every inducement to acquire the habit. One young Chinese student remarked to me: "In the old days a respectable young person would never be caught in an opium den. They were vile and foul smelling places. Now the chandar shops are the only decent gathering places in these villages."

And he was right, except where the missionaries, like the Malacca missionary, have set up competition. I traveled through the Malacca district. In every town there were two landmarks—the chandar shop and the Christian church.

Perhaps there is no other way to handle opium. Perhaps the drugged victims that I saw asleep in these smoking rooms on a Sunday afternoon were not harmed. But I was more than ever grateful for "the meddlesome missionary" and for the fact that in Malaya, as around the world, he owns an allegiance which calls for a loyalty that is, first of all, to righteousness and for a program that, in high places and low, is subversive of evil.

Malacca, as I have indicated, provides an example of the work that evangelical Christians are doing throughout the Malay Peninsula. The situation that confronts Christianity in this territory is unlike that in any other part of the world. The major

field is Mohammedan. The Malays were converted to the Islamic faith by missionaries from the Coromandel Coast and Malabar early in the fifteenth century. There is something inspiring in the tenacity, if not in the practices of Moslems. It is the boast of the Malays of the Peninsula that during forty years of Christian missionary work not a single convert has been won from Mohammedanism to Christianity.

Missionary policy, in fact, has seemed studiously to avoid this problem. In the entire Peninsula, the one piece of Christian work exclusively for Moslems is the student hostelry in the city of Malacca. Now the Methodist Church, through the offer of two scholarships by Dr. W. G. Shellabear—who has made a scholarly study of the problem—is preparing to fit two men to begin work in this Moslem field.

But the Malays, despite their numbers, are not a dominant factor in the life of the Peninsula. The dominating Asiatic people, with little question, are the Chinese who, having emigrated from south China in great numbers, have captured a large measure of the retail trade of the islands, secured extensive rubber holdings, and won, as a result, extraordinary economic and social distinction. The successful Straits Chinese constitute an Asiatic community that is unlike any other. English is their *lingua franca*. It is often the case that their children have never visited China and speak no word of Chinese. Their homes in Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and other cities are often palatial. Their standard of life, in general, is European rather than Oriental. Not all of the Chinese, of course, are of this class. Coolies and laborers have come into the Straits in

great numbers. Their life, generally speaking, is easier than in China and the possibilities that they may rise in the scale much greater.

There are also a large number of Indians in Malaya. In fact, the Indian population is increasing more rapidly than any other. This increase is due almost entirely to the demand for Indian labor on the rubber plantations. Most of these laborers are Tamils. In addition there has been a rather considerable emigration from South India of small shopkeepers and traders.

It is to the Chinese and Indian communities that the work of Christian missions has been almost wholly confined. A goodly number of these emigrants came from Christian communities in China and India. They furnished, therefore, the nucleus for Christian churches in Malaya, and it is from that nucleus that the Christian work, in the main, has grown.

The problems that confront the Christian in Malaya are those of the materialistic West, in exaggerated form. Fortunes are made out of rubber and tin with relative ease, but the scramble for money is furious. The pace, financial and social, is set by Europeans, and their example, if conducive to gain, is very often not conducive to moral development, much less to religious growth. The conventional attitude, among Europeans, toward Asiatics is that of a self-proclaimed superiority. This point of view finds its expression, as Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer points out, in the fact that "the European and American business men are generally opposed to the education and uplift of the Asiatics."

But white superiority no longer finds docile ac-

ceptance among the Indians and Chinese of Malaya. The Straits, and particularly the city of Singapore, are a crossroad where, in these post-war years, the advocates of Asiatic self-determinism have come and, openly or, more often in secret, have preached their doctrines. Straits Chinese have sent great sums of money to the support of China's Nationalist Movement. When Nanking was bombarded there were serious repercussions in Singapore. Similarly, the fluctuating tide of Indian nationalism is watched by the Indian community in the Peninsula. As a part of the British Empire, a channel of protest is available to the Indians which they are always alert to use when occasion arises.

Out of this consciousness that they are a part of a vast movement for the establishment of the sovereignty of non-white peoples, the Asiatic population in Malaya has grown less submissive and more conscious of their own importance in the scheme of things.

The increased friction between the white and non-white population is a result, however, of the attitude of the European residents rather than of the official policy of the British government. The ofcial policy can be criticized, but it reflects liberalism of the most radical sort when contrasted with the kind of policy that the colonists, if left to themselves, would almost certainly introduce. This situation is apparent elsewhere than in Malaya. Racial intolerance and bigotry and an attendant belief in exploitative tactics are a very general reflection of opinion among European commercial residents in the East, whether in Bombay, Singapore, Manila, or Shanghai. And this opinion registers itself in-

sistently at the various Chancellories concerned. The peace of the world, unquestionably, is more secure because actual policies, before they are made, are subjected to the critical scrutiny of those who temper them to some degree with a more inclusive and a longer view of world conditions.

If American policy were made by the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila, the aspirations of the Filipino people would receive short shrift. If our China policy were dictated from the long bar of the American Club in Shanghai, American troops doubtless would have intervened last spring in China and the United States now would probably be embarked upon a military adventure of the first order on Chinese soil. A similar situation prevails among the British residents in India. And in Malaya, if it were put to a vote of the business community, the widespread system of education for Asiatics would probably be curtailed and perhaps, eventually, abandoned; and the opium business, which Great Britain is certain to abolish, would probably be allowed to thrive without regulations save those designed to increase revenue.

It is the liberal co-operation of the British government, however, that has provided the Christian Church in Malaya with its greatest opportunity. In the schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Peninsula there are some eleven thousand young Asiatics, most of them Chinese. For these schools the government provides the curricula, furnishes, in the main, the funds for their maintenance, but turns over to the missionary authorities the selection of personnel and the actual administration. In other words, the public-school system, so far as Asiatics

are concerned, is in the hands of Christian agencies. And the consequent opportunity is unparalleled, save perhaps in certain sections of British Africa, where an equally progressive policy, in a less intensive way, is in operation.

The Anglo-Chinese School in Penang is a type of these government-supported Christian institutions. In the Penang school there is an enrollment of 1,800 boys, 1,100 of them in the high school and 700 in the lower school. The Anglo-Chinese Girls' School has an additional enrollment of 473.

The most significant contributions of such institutions as those at Penang are extra-curricular. Several hundred boys, for example, are members of the Boy Scouts, the Wolf Pack and the Cadet organizations. The missionary teacher spends on an average about three hours of every day in classroom work. The remainder of his time is free for that further character-building work about which he is particularly concerned. To stand, at the daily chapel, before nearly two thousand of these young Chinese, to listen to their singing and their participation in the devotional service is to realize just how significant it is that the training of the minds of the younger generation of Asiatics in Malaya has been so widely committed into Christian hands.

I was in Penang over a Sunday and on Sunday night attended the Epworth League service in the Chinese church. There was a tropical downpour that night, but the church was filled with young people. The service was conducted entirely in English, and with an alertness that would do credit to any Epworth League chapter anywhere. The subject under discussion was this: "How may we as

young Chinese Christians help in the Christian task of bringing world peace?"

There was nothing cut and dried about the meeting. One felt that these young men and women were conscious of their world responsibility and, more than that, that they felt it incumbent upon them, as Christians, to have a part in establishing the world purposes of Jesus.

I asked the British inspector of schools in Penang what he thought of this Christian direction of educational institutions. His reply was significant. "These schools under Christian auspices," he said, "do a work that the government cannot do. They give the boys a moral training with a religious foundation. The government may try to give moral training, but it cannot give it a religious basis. The kind of moral training that is required out here is that which has religion at its base. Because the missionary schools do just this they cannot be dispensed with."

With this constituency, increasing steadily through the educational program, an extensive and largely self-supporting evangelistic program has developed.

Traveling through the Straits, along the beautiful roads that rubber-prosperity has made possible, one finds attractive Christian churches in village after village. Almost always they have been built with funds raised locally, and are supported by thriving congregations.

The evangelical program in the cities of the Peninsula is developing along lines of social service. The Methodist Institutional Church at Singapore is a type of these. Within a radius of one mile of this church there are 100,000 Chinese. To cope with the

problems of the community a new church building has just been completed. Its program includes directed playground work, and a clinic carried on under the direction of the Child Welfare Society, where more than thirty babies are treated daily. One floor of the building is set aside for the Chinese Christian Union, a young men's organization with an extensive social program. Two Chinese congregations use the church, and both of these congregations are self-supporting.

All through the Peninsula the work for the Indians has developed side by side with that for the Chinese. The resources of the Indian population are limited, but not their interest. On many rubber estates, where there are no church buildings, the Tamils meet regularly for Christian services under the leadership of one of their own number or with the more occasional direction of an itinerating Indian preacher. In Singapore, in one of the slum districts of the city, a Tamil institutional church has been built, with a social hall adjoining it. The work of this church, for the Indian community, is very much like that of the church described above for the Chinese community.

To understand the significance of this work in Malaya it is necessary to keep continually in mind that Singapore and the Straits are at the most important crossroads of the Eastern world. The evils here, and the opportunities, are the inevitable product of a highly prosperous territory in which the representatives of many races rub shoulders together. The Christian Church in the Peninsula is rapidly on the way toward self-support; but the Christian opportunity is growing every year with

the growth of population, the increase of wealth, and the multiplication of the contacts between Malaya and the non-white peoples of Asia.

In the Dutch East Indies the general background is very much the same as that found in the Malay Peninsula. There is this exception, however, that Dutch missionary agencies are carrying on a widespread and successful work, not only among the Chinese, but in particular among the Moslem Malays. The Methodist Church has developed work among the Chinese. It is indicative of the new day that is coming in missionary administration that Chinese work in the island of Java is to be transferred to the Dutch, who are in a much better position to carry it forward, and Methodist resources are to be reinvested in an unoccupied field in north Sumatra.

Something needs to be said, however, of the Dutch work in Java, for it is in many respects the most intensively developed Christian enterprise in Asia. Mohammedanism in Java is a most aggressive force. Moslem missionaries are engaged in constantly extending activity. From Java, up to three years ago, between 10,000 and 12,000 Malays, more than one half the total number of pilgrims, made annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

Confronted with this active Islamic faith, therefore, the task of the Dutch Christians has not been easy. To undertake it more effectively they have a united program, headed up in the islands through a mission consul who acts as mediator between the Christian workers and the government. The Dutch work has been fourfold in character: educational, evangelistic, medical, and economic. The last aspect

of this program—the economic—is represented in various land colonization schemes. Groups of Christians are encouraged to join in opening up new territories where, on land secured from the government, they can establish Christian communities. Moslem settlers are allowed in these communities on condition that they observe the Christian regulations that govern them. Sunday is observed; cock-fights, gambling, and exhibitions by dancing girls are forbidden. The spirit of the settlements, as well as the regulations, is Christian. With this Dutch missionary program Java to-day is probably the most completely "occupied" field in the world.

In Sumatra this is not the case. In South Sumatra, in the city of Palembang, the Methodist Church is making a definite approach to the Moslem community. The mission school has proved to be a definite evangelical agency, and in the last five years some thirty Mohammedans have joined the Christian congregation.

It is in North Sumatra, however, that one finds, perhaps, the most appealing field. Here the Rhenish mission has been at work since 1680. The people are the aboriginal Bataks, very primitive, with a religion that is animistic. But Christian work among them has brought amazing results. Social and community life has been widely Christianized. Mrs. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, who traveled in North Sumatra last year, gives a graphic description of the life of the people in the Christian communities:

Sunday morning we were awakened at six o'clock by the chimes in the village church. . . . We arose with a Sabbath feeling in our hearts. Immediately after breakfast we started in the car for a

village on the other side of the lake. We wound through the mountains whose sides were cultivated, and passed fertile valleys filled with waving rice. But all the fields were empty save here and there a lone cultivator. Where were the usual crowds of people working in sociable little groups?

"Why, it is Sunday and they never work on Sunday," Mr. Archer explained.

Then we began to point out the churches, every few miles a white church with a steeple, usually set on a hill or a knoll, and beside the church stood a school house and a neat little dwelling. Our amazement grew as the number kept increasing. They dotted the landscape like the steeples through New England or Ohio. We passed through town after town, the stores closed, the market places empty. . . . Sabbath peace, quiet, and leisure were everywhere apparent. Its spirit entered our hearts such as we have not felt since we came to the East. By and by as the church hour approached the roads became almost a steady procession of people flocking to church, apparently the whole family, the whole village, the whole countryside.

For miles we looked on this surprising sight until we reached our goal of the morning—a church in the town of Belige on the west side of the lake. Here we found a church that would grace any community. . . . Here they come pouring into this church. Six hundred people of whom our pastors would brag. Nor was that all. In the adjoining schoolhouses there were four congregations of children going on simultaneously, small boys and small girls, big boys and big girls. . . .

Here we sat looking over this sea of faces. . . . And then they began to sing. . . . Old stately German choral singing—such volume of tone, such beauty of quality, such richness in blending harmonies. . . . The service was ritualistic and the congregational prayers and responses were as rolling thunder. The preacher was a young Batak man. . . . He mounted that high pulpit with perfect

ease, preached with liberty and fervor, his face alight with peace and happiness and though we could understand no word he gave us blessing. . . .

During the service a choir of young people with their leader sang twice. . . . There were two collections, . . . the first for home support and the second for the poor and needy. And so far as I could see every person contributed to each offering. To add to the final amazement they told us this church was built by local funds and is entirely self-supporting. Furthermore, this was true of all the other churches we had been seeing.

The Rhenish mission has devoted itself to this intensive work within a prescribed area. Beyond the boundaries of that area there is a great, untouched empire. (Sumatra is one thousand miles in length and in area more than ten times the size of Holland.) The government has granted the Methodist Episcopal Church permission to work in a territory that extends through the northern part of the island for some four hundred miles. In this section the resources, formerly devoted to the work which the Dutch will now continue in Java, are to be reinvested. The alternative to this step will be the presence of an increasing number of Mohammedan missionaries among the Bataks. If Christian work is not begun, this entire area, in a few years, will be Islamic.

A comparison of the lives of Christian with Moslem Bataks provides adequate reason for preferring that Christianity shall win this people. To meet the challenge of this Moslem field, however, is not an easy matter. There are no mass movements among the Mohammedans. The process of bringing them to Christianity is long and exceedingly difficult.

Quick returns cannot be expected, but by the very difficulties that the field presents the church is doubly challenged to invest resources in a program comprehensive enough and consecrated enough to Christianize this area.

Malaya, in fact, presents to the Christian Church a unique opportunity. It lies at the heart of the East. In its rich territory different civilizations and diverse faiths are in constant contact. Pagan gods from the East and West have set up their rival shrines. The altars that Christians have built are few. The number of those that worship there is limited, but the gospel that is professed is as potent a leaven in the life of Malay lands as in any other quarter of the non-white world where, with courage and consecration, Christians are accomplishing their tasks of individual and social regeneration.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILIPPINES

Christianity Making a Nation

This, for the Philippine Islands as for the rest of the non-white world, is a period of transition. The old Philippines, that America found at the turn of the present century, are passing. A new Philippines are in the making. The present is a time of uncertainty; of political, intellectual, and religious turmoil. The old moorings have been slipped for new ones not yet discovered.

The quest is in progress. I know of no place in the world where people, particularly young people, are so eager to know and so persistent and pertinent with their inquiries. Every gathering is likely to resolve itself into a public forum and every classroom into a discussion group. New thoughts are making a new people, and movements and leaders are developing for their direction.

Here is a record of the rounds of only one of the days that I spent in Manila. It is indicative. I called in the Legislative Assembly Building, upon the Filipino president of the Senate; attended at the Manila Hotel a session of the annual meeting of the Federation of the Filipino Women's Club; interviewed the Filipino woman director of the Department of Public Welfare, who is a graduate of Columbia University and the New York School for Social Work; met Dean Jorge Bocobo, of the College of Law of the Philippines, and topped off the

day at a revival meeting conducted by the students of the United Church.

Other days were similarly filled. Manila is electric with the excitement of a people who are coming to themselves. There is no escaping it, except, perhaps, in the Army and Navy Club where Filipinos —they are "niggers" there—are not allowed save as servants.

But this new day has its perils. One of them is the liquor menace. It is significant that the Filipinos, up to this modern period, have been a notably temperate people. And it is deplorable what a rapid growth of the liquor traffic and the resultant increase of intemperance has done, during the two decades, to detract from the splendid achievements of American administration. "The liquor traffic," according to Dean Bocobo, "is growing more rapidly in the Philippines than it ever did in the United States" (Laubach, page 398). In the last fifteen years the number of liquor-making establishments has increased thirty times. In 1903 there was a total of 287 such places, and in 1918, 8,315. Between 1908 and 1918 the places licensed to sell liquor increased from 25,969 to 86,941; and the amount of distilled liquor produced in the Islands increased from 6,461,949 litres in 1906 to 15,931,402 in 1918. Between 1915 and 1920 the total consumption of distilled and fermented liquors increased from 9,723,525 litres to 22,519,425 litres.

The social result of this growth of liquor business is apparent in the crime records. Two thirds of the serious crimes of the Islands are ascribed, by local authorities, to the use of alcohol, the further increase of intemperance stands as a hazardous ob-

stacle across the path of the future development of the Filipino people. Meanwhile the inconsistency of a nation that has outlawed liquor within its own borders but condones its increased spread among a people for whom it asserts responsibility is apparent.

Kindred with this evil are those of the cock-pit and of prize fighting. Probably no other influence is more responsible for the improvidence of the common people of the Islands than that of the cock-pit, where gambling and the inevitable debts lead directly to personal and social irresponsibility.

The doom of the cock-pit, however, is sealed. Intelligent opinion in the Islands is mobilized against it. Only the conservatism of the older voters has prevented its abolition before now. But with the cock-pit fallen into disrepute, another sport, capable of the same abuses, is gaining rapid headway. Prize fighting, because it is an American importation, has been given acceptable social standing. Thousands of people who would never be seen at a cock-pit attend the prize fights regularly. In actual practice, the only difference between the two agencies is not in social effect but in the relatively unimportant fact that men have been substituted for roosters.

With these social evils there is a third, represented in America by the jazz age. A variety of factors have worked in the Philippines to break down the old customs of social aloofness and restraint among young people. Flapperism flourishes, American literature, American movies, and—worst of all often—the examples of Americans have combined to threaten an undermining of the health and the social ideals of the younger generation. It is significant of the

alertness of the people, that, in 1922, when it was proposed to reopen the public dance hall in Manila, the City Council was swamped beneath an avalanche of Filipino protests that effectively disposed of the measure.

In addition to social perils, however, there are others of an equally, perhaps of a more fundamental nature. There has been a widespread breaking away, among educated Filipinos, from the Roman Catholic Church. Many people still declare themselves to be Roman Catholics who never attend mass or confession. Among them the drift is toward that uncertainty of attitude conventionally described as Free Thought.

To increase this tendency to leave the Roman Church and to complicate its consequences is the growth of materialism in thought and purpose. Materialistic science, taught very often as an antidote rather than as an asset for religion, is capturing the mind of the Philippines. The dogmatisms of Roman Catholicism have stimulated rather than answered the doubts of the people. And the dogmatisms of Protestantism frequently have been only slightly less a hindrance. The recent Fundamentalist victory in the Protestant Union Theological Seminary in Manila is a case in point. The teachers in this school, henceforth, must sign a fixed statement of theological belief. This, according to reports, is the first step in a Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in the Islands. By its development the cause of Jesus Christ is not likely to be prospered, but, rather, that of the skeptics, on the one hand, and the Roman and Protestant dogmatists, on the other.

But it is the rising tide of uncertainty and materialism that presents to evangelical Christianity its greatest opportunity in the Philippines. Just now the minds of the people are open. They are not sure of the way. They are eagerly seeking to find it. The discovery will not be long delayed. The next two decades will determine, to a considerable degree, the course of the next century. And the next century will indicate whether the Filipino people propose to follow, with material abandon, in the train of Western civilization or, as Dr. Ralph Laubach says, "prove worthy of sounding the keynote for the new Orient."

The fact that this is the period of decision is fully recognized, if not by Protestants, certainly by the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church. The campaign of Catholicism to win back the allegiance of the Filipino people is probably the most aggressive missionary effort now under way anywhere in the world. The drive is, largely, educational. Its leaders, for the most part, are well-trained and liberal American priests.

Between 1903 and 1918, according to Doctor Laubach, the friars founded 903 schools. The Athenium, a Roman Catholic high school and college in Manila, announces that it has one of the largest American faculties in the Islands, with 34 American and three Spanish members. Among the 21 priests who came, in 1921, to the Athenium Dr. Laubach points out that there were one editor, two vice-presidents of American colleges, two prefects, the former headmaster of Georgetown preparatory school, and five professors in various American colleges. Of the eight who came in 1922 there were a former profes-

sor in Boston College, the former president of St. Stanislaus Institute of Bandra, East Indies, a professor from Fordham University, two men with doctorates from Woodstock College, and two graduates of American universities.

There is a scant resemblance between the Catholicism of these men and that which flourished under the latter of the Spanish regime. For this transformation, evangelical Christianity to a considerable degree is responsible. Many liberal Catholics admit this. One of them writing in the *Catholic Historical Review* declares:

"The Aglipay schism and the pressure of the Protestant sects have not been without a quickening influence on Catholicism, for they have aided the very fact of their being part of the great task that confronted the American Catholic clergy, namely, the establishment of the church in the Philippines on the American basis, and the correction of those undesirable conditions that have grown up during the years of Spanish control, when the church, being itself a part of the body politic was injured by the very fact of that too intimate contact. The competition has served a good end for Catholicism as it has thus been placed on its mettle."

This task of keeping Catholicism "on its mettle" provides evangelical Christianity with a great mission in the Philippines. The success of that mission is not merely a result of inter-Christian competition. It arises from the fact that evangelical Christianity, in the main, has represented a message to the Filipino people that is significant in terms of the new mind and the new aspirations that have come among them. The day of a significant influence of Protest-

antism will end when its leadership falls into the hands of either creedal or denominational dogmatists. Bigotry and close-mindedness, to intelligent Filipinos, are no more welcome in Protestant garb than in the garb of Rome.

Just now, however, the major influence of the evangelical churches of the Philippines is in support of a message that is unique. It is unique, in the first place, because it lays claim to intellectual respectability. It is at home in the prevalent atmosphere of questioning. Its spokesmen have not condemned the tide of doubt that is sweeping the Islands, but have sought to provide a constructive ministry to the doubters. There is scant chance, these days in the Philippines, for a faith that does not offer a reasonable apologetic.

Recently a young student came to a Christian teacher desiring to know whether or not there is "a scientific basis for religion."

"Like many educated men," he said, "I have lost faith in religion. If you apply the scientific test to Christianity, it fails. You cannot prove scientifically that there is a God. If there is one at all, you cannot prove that he is like Jesus Christ. Whatever God rules, this cruel universe is worse than Christ was. You cannot prove that Christ rose from the dead. You cannot prove that there is any life after death. The evidence seems to me to be against Jesus being alive or our own future life. And without those three things what is left of Christianity? And the kingdom idea of Jesus, was it not an illusion? I have learned from science to be true to truth, and I cannot pretend to believe a falsehood or an improbability."

And the missionary recognized that "looking horrified or threatening this man with hell would not cure him. No thoroughly honest man can be scared into intellectual dishonesty by fear of punishment." Instead, therefore, of battering away his opportunity with shibboleths, the missionary made a case for Jesus Christ in terms that the young man could understand. He related him to a definite Christian program, and, at the end of the process that was not cataclysmic, but long and careful, brought him to an experience in which his doubts found a definite answer.

This painstaking presentation of an intellectually respectable gospel is largely responsible for the fact that there is, to-day, a mass movement among Filipino youth toward evangelical Christianity. There are many evidences of this mass movement. Sam Stagg is one of them. Sam Stagg is a young man, officially the editor of the Philippine Observer and pastor of the Central Student Church in Manila. But, more important, he is, unofficially, an ambassador from Protestant America to the youth of the Philippines. His student mass meetings are famous throughout the Islands. Last year he spoke to twenty-five thousand high school and college young people. And *eighty per cent* of those that he reached signed Christian decision cards.

I went to church with him—at five-thirty on a Thursday morning. These five-thirty services are a part of the daily routine in the dormitory which he runs for students in Manila. Classes begin early in Manila, so it is a question of having early religious services or none at all. Reveille at five-fifteen is the result. The students are not required to attend, but

they were all there. They turn out like that every morning in the week although it is no easier to get out at five-fifteen in Manila than elsewhere in the world. But religion, perhaps, is more insistent.

Sam Stagg's Central Student Church in Manila is a further illustration of this surge toward Christianity. Central Church is a type of others that have sprung up in the Islands at Manila, Vigan, Lingayen, San Fernando, and elsewhere. It is an exception to almost everything ecclesiastical—which fact may help to account for its vitality. Its membership of more than 100 is composed entirely of students and their teachers and professors. The auditorium in architectural reckonings has a capacity of 250. The average attendance during the school year is 400. And these young people run the church. They do more than pass the collection plates. They man the boards and direct the activities. More than that—and this is an essential Anglo-Saxon consideration—they raise the entire budget, a budget big enough to keep their church in operation and support two national missionaries in outlying islands.

The church is very much a going concern. There is a three-year teachers' training course that draws into it the picked students of the institution; and a further course in lay leadership. On Sunday afternoons five student teams of ten students each scatter through Manila to the reformatories, the leper hospital, the penitentiary, the orphanage and the general hospital to preach, to sing and to teach. They run two dialect Sunday schools, two dialect preaching services and a junior church. Each Sunday morning the church bus calls at the School for

the Blind and carries a load of little children to a special Sunday school that the church maintains.

The work does not let up in the summer months. It only spreads. Last summer one graduate student in education organized a student church of his own; a law student started an Epworth League. There were Daily Vacation Bible Schools; Camp Fire and Boy Scout camps; and Sunday schools begun in the off months by the members of the Manila church.

All of this doubtless accounts for the fact that at the end of 1925—a sample year—twenty-five student members dedicated themselves to full time Christian service.

But the message of evangelical Christianity in the Philippines is unique, not only because it has an intellectual appeal, but because also it has a program of moral upbuilding. The Protestant forces in the Islands to a considerable degree are responsible for the drives that have been begun against the liquor traffic, the cock-pit, prize fighting, the low order of dance halls, and prostitution.

The real threat of these various agencies is against the life of the younger generation. It was found, for example, that nearly seventy per cent of the frequenters of the dancing dives of Manila were students. Evangelical Christianity, therefore, has coupled with its work of reform a program of character-building. And this program finds its expression in the establishment of Christian dormitories adjacent to public schools and colleges, for the very large number of young men and women who attend schools at some distance from their homes.

The Methodist Church is now operating ten dormi-

tories which house more than four hundred and fifty students. The Disciples of Christ, the United Brethren, the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches have similar work. The Roman Catholic Church is opening dormitories rapidly. The demand is for two Christian dormitories, one for girls and one for boys, at every center in the Islands.

Just what these Christian hostelries may mean is apparent from the large number of Christian workers who are recruited from them. And the influence of those who have lived during their school days in this Christian atmosphere is making a contribution toward the solution of the hard moral and social problems that confront the Islands. A superintendent of public schools wrote recently to the head of Hugh Wilson Hall, a Methodist girls' dormitory in Manila: "I can always tell when my teachers come from your dormitory, for they have the welfare of the pupils so much at heart."

It is thus, by reform and education, that evangelical Christianity is helping with the moral upbuilding of the Filipino people.

"Protestantism," according to Doctor Laubach, "is needed in the Philippines to help fight against all kinds of vice. Many liberal Roman Catholic laymen desire to combat vices, but they have to work in cooperation with Protestant clergymen in order to do so. It was a Protestant mayor under the stimulus of Protestant clergymen who abolished the red-light district of Manila. Well-known Roman Catholic laymen sought to persuade the priesthood to show open opposition to the red lights, but they were unsuccessful. . . . On the other hand, every Protestant minister in Manila lined up with the liberal-

minded Roman Catholic laymen and prevented the return of the red lights. . . .

"In 1926 there was a similar situation in the cabaret fight in Manila. Prominent Roman Catholics invited thirty of the Roman Catholic clergy to attend the meetings of a committee of protest and also to attend the hearings of the City Council. Not one priest attended either the committee meetings or the Council hearings. . . . Nor have the Roman Catholic priests done anything to aid the campaign against cock-fighting, nor the fine work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in combating the growing menace of alcoholism."[1]

This social work, therefore, provides the second unique contribution of evangelical Christianity to the Philippines. There is a third contribution, in the sympathetic indorsement which, in the main, Protestantism has given to the national aspirations of the Filipino people. It is one of the finest tributes to the Protestant Church that the leadership of the Independence Movement to such a large extent is recruited from its membership. Freedom of thought, access to the New Testament, a social gospel are uniquely Protestant doctrines in the Philippines. Their spread has had its inevitable consequences. Repudiation by evangelical Christianity of the national aspirations of the Filipinos involves directly the nullifying of these significant aspects of the gospel. Christians in the Philippines are obliged to preach a full Christian message and accept its implications or, to escape the implications, preach a "selected" gospel, which abandons to a safer time

[1] From *The People of the Philippines*, by Frank C. Laubach. Published by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc.

the doctrine that "ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Evangelical Christians, Filipinos and missionaries, in the vast majority of cases have not evaded this issue. While American rubber interests, Chambers of Commerce and military spokesmen in the Islands maintain a steady propaganda against the "independence mania," the missionaries, according to one of their spokesmen "are overwhelmingly in favor of independence." The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church recently went on record with the following resolution:

> We of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Philippine Islands, in Annual Conference assembled, put ourselves on record as being in entire sympathy with the national aspirations of the Filipino people. . . .
>
> And we declare our hearty approval of every constructive effort of the Filipinos looking toward the realization of these national aspirations.

The result of this Protestant support, is that, more than in any other country with which I am familiar, the political aspirations of the people are being Christianized. Last year Washington's Birthday was set aside as a day of prayer for the nation's future. There was a storm of protest from certain American commercial interests which were fearful of the added stimulus that might be given to the independence movement. But the plan was carried through, and on February 22d a vast multitude of people in widely separated places throughout the Islands joined in a national prayer:

> Almighty God, Father of all nations, Fountain of all strength and mercy, we thy people come unto thee

in this hour of danger and distress. Hide not thy face from this nation, we beseech thee. Do thou pour out thy holy comfort upon our afflicted souls. We are a weak people, but thou art our refuge and our Deliverer. Of thy loving kindness there is no end.

We entreat thee, O most gracious Father, stay thou the hand that would smite our liberties. Send forth thy Spirit into our rulers across the seas and so touch their hearts and quicken their sense of justice that they may in honor keep their plighted word to us. Let not the covetous designs of a few interests prevail in the councils of the sovereign nation nor sway its noble purposes toward our country.

We pray thee, O Lord, grant us to forgive those who seek to destroy our freedom.

We thank thee, O heavenly Father, that we can thus pray to thee. We thank thee that thou hast inspired us with a renewed spirit of national unity. Do thou bless and sanctify our aspirations as a people. Guide us in our endeavors for our emancipation to the end that our every thought and deed may be acceptable in thy sight. And to thee be all honor and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Similarly, when the Protestant youth of the Philippines met two years ago in a first interdenominational conference, they wrote a "Decalogue" which had these as its first two statements:

We accept Jesus Christ as the Son of the living God and as our personal Saviour. We believe that through him alone can we enter into vital fellowship with God."

We believe in the Christian interpretation of nationalism. Therefore we hold that God has called the Filipino people to a high mission of service to humanity. We believe that this service can best be rendered through a free and sovereign Filipino State under the leadership of Jesus Christ.

There is a fourth unique contribution which evan-

gelical Christianity is bringing to the Philippine Islands. In addition to presenting a faith that is intellectually respectable, that stands for the moral upbuilding of the people and gives indorsement to their national aspirations the Protestant message is lifting the long-established faith of the islanders from the level of symbolical expression to that of personal experience. In that, unquestionably, is the most vital of all religious contributions. For a valid religious experience provides, on the one hand, a foundation for intellectual conviction, and involves, on the other hand, a Christian obligation to society.

The demand for an experienced faith extends from tip to tip of the Islands. I know of no better description of evangelistic work than that given by Dr. J. F. Cottingham, of the Methodist Mission, who recounts the experiences of a trip to Corregidor:

No place for the Sunday school but the theatre, so away to the movie we hurry. After the morning service a half score of adults who have been converted are to be baptized. A member invites us to dinner and there at his home are some babies to be baptized. After dinner some more come for baptism. Then at one o'clock we climb the flinty sides of the Island until halfway up we reach Middleside and the stockade. . . . Inside the fence are eight hundred men in stripes, worst of all Filipino prisoners. Our guard was converted when we were here a few weeks ago and had arranged the services. . . . They came, those down-hearted men, forty-six of them seeking Christ. One wants to testify—a noted thief and bandit: "I was very wicked, I am free now. Jesus saved me. Political liberty may be much desired but I have more than that, liberty of the soul."

Just an hour and we must be at the service at Topside. No place for that but in another moving

picture place. . . . A night service at Bottomside and some more baptisms. We must hasten back to Manila early Monday morning, so we arise early.

"Good morning, pastor," said a man in overalls who was waiting on the porch, "I want to become a Christian and be baptized before Christmas, which is next week. I know you are in a hurry, but cannot you take time to baptize me before breakfast?"

We could, and did, making the sixth time we had read the baptismal service in twenty-four hours.

It was this same desire for a gospel that finds its basis in a personal experience that dominated the youth revival that was in progress at the United Student Church—an interdenominational institution—when I was in Manila. The evangelist for this meeting was Camilio Osias. His name means little, doubtless, in the United States. In the Philippine Islands it means a great deal. Camilio Osias is the leading Filipino educator. He was formerly president of the National University. He is a member of the Filipino Senate. No man, not even Quezon or Aguinaldo, exerts a more significant influence in the Islands.

But Osias, at his best, is as much a preacher as an educator or a politician. That accounts in part for the fact that, night after night in the old building of the student church with the annual carnival in full swing a few blocks away, hundreds of young men and women crowded in to hear the gospel and to give it their life indorsement.

The sermons were not diluted. In popular terminology they were straight stuff. Osias not only preached, he gave altar calls. Back of the pulpit

a student-made poster demanded: "When Jesus calls make your Christian decision."

And every night scores of young men and women did just that. They made no compromises and offered no apologies. They simply joined in an altar fellowship with this Filipino senator, and each agreed with him that—

I will protect and honor all womanhood as I would my own mother.

Whatever my life-work may be, I will strive to make unselfish service of my country and humanity the rule of my life;

I hereby accept Jesus Christ as my Lord and Saviour and humbly ask his forgiveness for my sins, and with his help I will strive to live a Christ-like life.

This work of evangelism goes forward as significantly among the women as among the men. I attended the graduation exercises of the Harris Memorial Training School in Manila. There were thirteen young women in the class—all of them graduates of a three or four year course of preparation as Bible women, kindergarten workers, or directors of religious education. They were sent out to join the Alumnæ of this institution already carrying on their work in twelve provinces of the island of Luzon. The purposes that dominate them are apparent in this paragraph from the letter of a senior in the school:

This is my third and last year in the school, and as I am called by God to do this work it is my desire to do my service to help other people to find the right path to live with Christ, and higher ideals and standards of home and social life. It is my prayer that the Lord will give me power and strength

to influence people to come to him, especially in molding the religious life of the children. It is my desire that I will always go where the Lord wants me to go.

It is thus with an exclusive message that evangelical Christianity is called to carry on in the Philippine Islands. There are scarcely one hundred and fifty thousand Protestant church members. But their influence is reaching out to Christianize, in a most vital way, the life of the entire people. And with that extension of Christian influence a consciousness is coming of an even greater call. Judge Camus prayed that he might "see the day when Filipinos would be going to the continent of Asia, as American missionaries are now doing. It is a belief of Camilio Osias that the Filipino people, if they "have the persistence, determination, and perseverance, may place the Philippines at the vanguard of Oriental nations in matters cultural, æsthetic, and spiritual." And Doctor Laubach declares that when one looks fifty years ahead the Philippines "will be the only logical nation to assume the leadership in Orientalizing Christianity."

But the preparation for that task is very much of the present. It can be undertaken only after the Filipino people themselves have come into a more widespread knowledge of a vital Christian faith. Whatever else this new day holds for the people of the Islands, it can include no greater destiny than this: to stand, a Christian nation, in the forefront of the movement to Christianize the East.

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA

A Christian Apologetic

Our ship was a Japanese freighter nosing lazily up the China coast. An offshore wind whipped up a fair-sized sea. When we ran into the first wave, slid up and over it and rolled unsteadily toward the next, our fellow passengers, one and all, promptly disappeared. But we found a sunny bit of deck on the lee side of the captain's cabin, appropriated it for a promenade, and walked and talked there in intimate, shipboard fashion.

He was the representative of an English trading company. I was an itinerant journalist. His life, since the war, had been spent along this stretch of coast prospecting for orders. I was out to learn, from all comers, about China. The questions I asked got around, finally, to foreign missions.

"What about these Chinese Christians?"

"I'll tell you," he said. "They get Christianity for what Christianity will get them. Just now it gets them and us into a lot of trouble."

And that opinion, later in the day, found its way into the safe-keeping of my notebook and was forgotten.

Yenping brought it to mind again.

I didn't get to Yenping. Foreigners were not going inland in those days of early 1927. Upriver launches from Foochow were the likely and regular targets for the odds and ends of soldiery who loitered

along the Min to take pot shots at each other and, more to their liking, at passing noncombatants. In Yenping life was precarious. The Communists were having a merry time of it. Christians were not safe in the streets. A foreigner, doubtless, might have furnished sufficient provocation for a riot. All things considered, I didn't get to Yenping.

But I saw others who did go. One afternoon in Foochow I watched two Chinese girls bundled aboard a miserable launch with a week of upriver travel ahead of them. They were just out of college—these two girls. They told me that they had jobs—Christian jobs—in Yenping. I repeated the reports I had heard of war and of looting and of anti-Christian drives and suggested that Yenping was hardly a place for young women.

"What will you get out of it?" I asked, "going inland in the face of such risks?"

They had an answer.

"This new China," they said, "is our China. Christians helped to make it. Christianity now must furnish its direction. Two teachers are wanted for our girls' school in Yenping and we have no choice but to go. This, as you Americans say, is the way we do our bit."

I recalled, then, the comment of my freighter friend "for what Christianity will get them," and his further word that, at present, "it gets them and us into a lot of trouble." In fact, his opinion came to my mind frequently after that. And then I dismissed it entirely. I had met too many Chinese—like these young girls—who because of their faith were heroically courting trouble.

By the time I had finished in Foochow and Shang-

hai and the Yangtsze Valley I had some opinions of my own. They all can be gathered around the general conclusion that China, to-day, furnished the world's finest argument for Christian missions. And this conclusion, I believe, is true because of two things. First, because of the part that Christianity has had in stirring China into this new day. Second, because of the fact that Chinese Christians, tried in the fires that the new day set, have held to their faith without flinching. In the one there is evidence of what Christianity can do for society; in the other, proof of what it does for the individual.

The background here cannot be lost sight of. Viewed alone the China situation is important enough. Viewed against the background of an awakening non-white world it represents developments of the sort that are certain to confront Christianity in many lands. Some special effort to understand present-day China, therefore, needs to be made.

What is happening in China is the inevitable consequence of two facts:

First, the minds of the people are being freed; and second, the energies of the people are being applied to the task of establishing that freedom in terms of the institutions and the relationships that govern their lives.

These developments are not, by any means, complete. But they are in process. And much of the chaos that exists, and for some time may continue to exist in China, is the normal result of the trial-and-error method by which communities of men, through all history, have won their way to freedom. Any doubt on that point will be speedily allayed by a rereading of the early history of the United States,

particularly in the two decades that followed the Revolution. And our task was only a miniature one compared with China's.

That the minds of the people are actually being freed is hardly deniable. The process has been in operation ever since the missionaries more than a century ago, opened the doors of their first schools and, through them, gave young China its first glimpse into the modern world. Since the establishment of the republic in the revolution of 1911 the process has been accelerated. Young China has taken the enterprise into its own hands. In the renaissance movement, old values, old customs and the old outlook have been dug from their traditional shelters and appraised in the light of the new day. In the literary revolution that resulted a new written language, accessible to the people, has been established. An army of student evangelists equipped with the weapons of the new learning have swept through the country. Adult education, under their leadership, became a mass movement. Tens of thousands of Chinese villagers have been taught to read and write.

What they were taught to read and write opened other doors into the modern world. In 1919 there came the Versailles Conference and the award of Shantung Province to Japan. The students, overnight, stepped to the front of the nation and led the Chinese people in a boycott of Japan that proved to be the most significant expression of popular opinion in the modern history of China. A national consciousness was developing because the minds of the people were being freed.

Now, according to one of China's interpreters: "a

new spirit has been born; a new zeal has been awakened. That which welds the British together, which unites the French, and which gives pride to every American in his citizenship, has also seized the Chinese. For the first time in history the Chinese people begin to feel as one, think as one, and want to live and die as one."

And this spirit is pervasive.

"My cabin boy on the Pacific Mail Steamer out of Hongkong," writes Professor Paul Monroe, "told in a few sentences the entire story of the present turmoil in China. . . .

" 'Englishmen make big squeeze Hongkong; make big squeeze Canton; make big squeeze Kowloon; make big squeeze Shanghai; make big squeeze Hankow; make big squeeze Tientsin. Englishmen always make big squeeze everywhere; make big squeeze India; make big squeeze Singapore. For a long time Chinese coolie-men don't know. Chinese student he know. Now Chinese student tell Chinese coolie-man. Now Chinese coolie say, 'Englishmen no more make big squeeze; Englishmen must go.' "[1]

That story is inaccurate in so far as it blames Great Britain alone. But it is significant because it reveals how, down to the coolie classes, China has been aroused.

I met a Chinese industrialist in Shanghai who had just returned from an extensive trip through the provinces. Over the tea he told me of his amazement at the awareness of the common people of China's present problem.

"I have listened my way through the tea shops

[1] *China: A Nation in Evolution*, p. 285. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

here in Shanghai," he said. "I have slept in coolie taverns in many interior villages. I have stopped and talked with farmers as I passed them at work in the fields. In these places the discussions revolved around the nationalist movement, imperialism, the rights of China. Questions put to me—and there were always many of them—all indicated an effort to pry out more information on these subjects. Multitudes of posters spread across city walls and compound walls and the walls of dwellings—their contents read to the crowds by students or merchants; countless parades; street corner harangues—all these things have worked in the minds of the people. They are getting free from the old narrowness and the old traditions—free to know their rights and to seek them."

If it is clear that the minds of the Chinese people are being freed "to know their rights," it is just as evident that their energies, increasingly, are being devoted to establishing them. This effort finds its strength, not in any particular political group, but in the awakened consciousness of the people. The Kuomingtang Party of Dr. Sun Yat Sen is, at present, its most effective vehicle. But it is only a vehicle. Should it collapse, some other agency of expression would be discovered. Nationalism in China is bound up, not with the workings of a political machine, but with the new life of the Chinese people. It is not likely to collapse unless that new life, in defiance of all the forces at work through the world, should cease to exist.

This further development: the establishment of freedom in terms of the institutions and the relationships that govern the lives of the Chinese people,

has been slowly getting under way for several decades. It began, doubtless, back at the time of the Opium War when the West broke open China's door. It gained headway, through the last eighty years, as piece by piece, Western nations chipped off imperial bits of ancient China and shamelessly pocketed them.

But this movement too was accelerated with the Revolution in 1911. Democracy, then, had its prophetic proponent in Dr. Sun Yat Sen. And it is the program of Dr. Sun Yat Sen to-day that provides it with definiteness and direction. Briefly summed up Doctor Sun decreed that China must win:

Democratic unity within her own borders.

International equality before the world.

Economic betterment for the common people.

It is on this three-fold program that the Chinese people are uniting. Unquestionably, a goodly measure of the support to make that union effective has come from Russia. Aid might have come from the United States and Great Britain. They were first on the job. But they missed their chance.

And Doctor Sun, after the manner of our own revolutionary forefathers, took the help that was proffered. Russian technicians supervised the welding of the labor unions into effective nationalist instruments; Russian propagandists organized the campaigns of education through the countryside; Russian advisers aided the military; Russian gold helped to replenish the coffers of the Kuomingtang. Without Russian help it is doubtful whether the nationalist movement could have become so quickly and so effectively renascent.

It is a striking evidence of the fact that the pres-

ent situation in China is first and fundamentally an expression of the will of the Chinese people that the Communists, for the time being at any rate, have been ousted. The ousting has come about because the Chinese awoke to see that the Soviets were not in China for the final good of the nationalist movement, but in order to use the nationalist movement to further Russia's own cherished program of world revolution.

The tactics by which the Kuomingtang armies advanced out of the south through the Yangtsze Valley indicate the effective manner in which the people are being associated in this new China program. Each division of troops has its educational corps, usually composed of students. This corps always goes into action before the army. Its purpose, in fact, is, wherever possible, to prevent actual fighting. Before an advance is made, several hundred soldiers are given a period of intensive training. The purpose of the Kuomingtang are drilled into these advance agents.

Then the chosen soldiers discard their uniforms and put on coolie clothes. Singly or in small groups they slip out of the lines at night and with burdens of one sort or another, as beggars or traveling workmen they wander off into the country that the Nationalists propose to capture. There they hire out as farm laborers or work in wayside inns. They pull rickshas, carry water, or do any sort of coolie work that offers itself. They talk incessantly: to the farmer about the economic program of the Nationalists; to the merchant about the commercial advantages of tariff autonomy; to the housewife, who has come to trade, about the emancipation

of women. Day by day they make converts. And when the time has come for the army to advance, the work of conquest is all but finished. In almost every section through which the nationalists have advanced, the populace have welcomed them as deliverers.

Thus, under the leadership of a generation of young men and with the growing support of the masses of the people, a new China is being born. The fact of that new China must henceforth be the background for any consideration of the future of Christianity in that land, or, for that matter, for the relationship, in any field, between the Chinese and the people of the West.

It is, in part, because of the share that Christianity has had in making it that the new China furnishes so potent an apologetic for a program of Christian extension. I do not wish to join the ranks of those spokesmen for the church who, as soon as any good thing develops anywhere under the sun light upon it forthwith as evidence of the influence of Christianity. It is probably true that very few of the great movements of the world these days develop without some support from Christianity, and conversely, that an equally small number can be credited to Christian influence alone.

In China, as I have already indicated, a number of forces have been at work. There have been others —trade, the development of communications, the aftermath of the World War. All these must be written into any complete account of the sources of China's revolution. But among them, as a major force, is Christianity.

Witnesses to that fact are particularly plentiful

among those Westerners whose interests in China are exploitative. To them, the liberating program of the missionaries is a direct blow at exploitation and, therefore, "perilous." There are notable exceptions to this opinion in the trading communities. But, however notable, they still constitute the exceptions. The major commercial opinion in China, and throughout the East, is anti-missionary because it is pro-exploitation.

Such an attitude toward the missionary is well stated by so distinguished a person as Lord Inchcape, whose shipping crowds the seas of the East. He unequivocally places the blame for the new China —with its threat to immediate profits—upon the missionaries. And sentiments akin to that find daily echo at the long bars of all the foreign clubs from Bombay to Shanghai. Christianity, so it is alleged, is responsible for the new day that has dawned. And since the new day contains a serious threat to the white man's exploitative *status quo,* Christianity deserves condemnation. But Christians who are committed to a world order in which righteousness shall prevail will welcome the condemnation as proof that the leaven of the gospel is at work.

But what, in the missionary's program, has given rise to these criticisms? What, specifically, has Christianity contributed to China that has helped her toward this new day and, by the same token, has speeded the end of the day of white exploitation?

In the first place—and this from the Western end —the missionary interpreters for a century have been storing up in the West a reservoir of good will toward China. It is that friendship, almost wholly of missionary creation, that has blocked the program

of intervention in China and has afforded the Chinese a chance to carry through their own program of national reformation. Rodney Gilbert, in *What's Wrong with China,* is in no doubt at this point. He complains bitterly that the chief obstacle to his proposal of Western force in China is public opinion in the West which has—so he asserts—been fed upon misinformation and devoted to fostering the perilous ideas of democracy and Christianity.

And Gilbert, unquestionably, is right. In China, in the spring of 1927, practically the only Western voices raised against intervention were the voices of the missionaries. There are, of course, some glaring exceptions. Die-hard missionaries, refugeeing in the International Settlement, broke into the "letter-box" column of the Shanghai newspapers with distressing frequency during these fevered weeks. I attended a meeting in Shanghai where a group of such missionaries introduced an anti-Chinese resolution. It is safe to say that the motion would have called forth little opposition in almost any one of Shanghai's nonmissionary organizations. But the proposal failed because, among the missionaries, the number of those who were out of sympathy with Chinese nationalism constituted a minority. So far as I have been able to discover every missionary organization in China—in contrast to the hostility of other non-Chinese groups—has given general indorsement to the fundamental purposes of Chinese nationalism.

This point of view is a natural result of the fact that the missionaries, on the one hand, have a faith in the capacity of all peoples and because, on the other hand, their intimate contact with the Chinese

has indicated that, in China at any rate, that faith is based on fact.

Missionary literature circulated widely through the churches of the West has created a like conviction in the minds of Christian people, particularly in Great Britain and America. I have had occasion recently to go through a rather large number of missionary "textbooks." The most striking fact that they all have in common is an emphasis upon the good qualities and the potentialities of the people about whom they are written. There is no glossing over the need of these lands or the inadequacies of their social and religious systems. But these shortcomings, so far as I have discovered, are never interpreted as proof of any inherent inability in the people themselves.

There is no Asiatic people in whom there is more sympathetic interest in the United States than the Chinese. The source of that interest can be traced back directly to mission study classes where friendliness toward China has been planted in the minds of young Americans for the last thirty years. In a somewhat lesser degree that is also true of all non-white peoples.

It is a definite contribution to the new China, therefore, that the Chinese people have the active sympathy of a vast majority of evangelical Christians in Great Britain and the United States. In that fact there is some guarantee that, despite the desire for force in certain circles, China's national aspirations will not be aggressively interfered with.

From the China end the first of the contribution of Christianity to the new China is education. Modern learning and modern science in China are of

Christian origin. Many of the first of the long stream of students that came to the United States were sent by missionaries. A vast majority of the leaders of present-day China received their first training in mission schools.

"The mission schools," according to so noted an educator as Professor Monroe, "have in truth furnished inspiration, example, and the stimulus of competition both to government and to private schools. Text books have been translated, curricula worked out, methods formulated, leaders trained, though too few. In every phase of educational work the mission schools have contributed, oftentimes as pioneers."[1]

I recall an official dinner in Foochow at which most of the directing authorities of the newly established nationalist government were in attendance. The usual speech-making followed the dinner. All of the officials had a turn on the toast-list. All of them, with but one exception, testified that they have been, at some time, under Christian instruction. And—although this may have been a matter of diplomacy—they all agreed that their faith in the new China was first aroused in these Christian schools.

According to Rodney Gilbert, not only Sun Yat Sen, but practically all of the leaders of the nationalist movement, received their early training under missionary influence, some of them, so Gilbert states, having been picked off the streets and educated out of charity.

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[1] *China: A Nation in Evolution.* Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

Eighty-five per cent of the Chinese people are illiterate. It is both a tribute to missionary education and a partial explanation of the influence of the Christianity that, in contrast to the general illiteracy, sixty per cent of the men and forty per cent of the women in the Protestant churches in China are literate.

There are other aspects of education that have helped to make Christianity a factor in the present situation. Missionary institutions have been pioneers toward the realization of Doctor Sun's aim to bring about the economic betterment of the Chinese people. The School of Agriculture and Forestry at Nanking University has established its experiment stations widely. Its graduates preach, with their Christian message, a more careful cultivation, crop rotation, and fertilization. Similar work is being carried on at Lingnan University (formerly Canton Christian College). At Lingnan Christian educators have made a significant contribution to the Chinese silk industry, by the development of disease-free silk worms.

Further notable contributions can be traced back to missionary hospitals and dispensaries, to lectures on health and sanitation, pamphlets on the care of children, baby clinics, and a vast crusade against disease. Allied in this work have been other philanthropic agencies, such as the Rockefeller foundation, which has established in Peking a medical center equal to the best institutions of the Occident.

Of this medical and health work Professor Monroe writes:

There is nothing more impressive in all Christian work. The service of the medical missionaries con-

stitutes an epic in itself, and the life work of any one of them would furnish a romance of Christian or humanitarian service of infinite interest. In a land of vast and overcrowded population, where life is at the margin of subsistence, where human sympathy, therefore, has had little room for development, where —through a huge infant mortality—great callousness among the ignorant has developed; in a land inhabited and cultivated for centuries, where infections are on all hands—in the air, in the water, in the food, in the earth, in the homes, where ignorance and superstition have taken the place of medical science, the value of such trained workers can have no estimate placed upon it.[1]

It is through that work that Christianity in China, as one prominent Chinese expresses it, "promises a new era of health." But these undertakings on behalf of the people of China have done more than to aid the economic status or the health of the people. They have set an example of altruism. In the practice of that spirit Chinese Christians have furthered the growth of a feeling of national interdependence and, therefore, the development of a national consciousness.

Similarly, missionaries have provided the laboratories in which the new China first came into contact with the procedures of democratic self-government. The Christian Church and school gave opportunity for social expression, co-operative thinking and organization in very much the same way that the New England town meeting helped to prepare the way for popular government in America. According to G. W. Hinman, in an address before the Williamstown Institute of Politics in 1927, "under the old

[1] *China: A Nation in Evolution,* p. 307. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

order in China only the secret societies gave freedom for consideration and expression of national aspirations. Public speaking was unknown in China until the Chinese Christian preacher was developed. Education of public opinion by pamphlets and periodicals was not practiced until the missionaries introduced it. The discussion group was unheard of until it evolved out of the church prayer meeting and the Christian Endeavor Society."

Christianity and Christian education have, likewise, had a share in the development of China's new womanhood. And there is no questioning the part of the "new womanhood" in making the new China. When I was in Foochow the Women's Division of the Kuomingtang had placarded the city with flaming posters:

"Chinese Women! Unite! Organize! Only thus will you be freed from the age-long slavery to which you have been subjected in the home."

I visited the Division's headquarters at the provincial offices of the Kuomingtang in the city. The work of organization was going on apace, under the direction of a young Chinese woman—trained in a mission school. She took me across the court into the school for propaganda.

"Here," she said, "you will see the first co-educational school in China. We have fifteen young women. They are fitting themselves, in classes with the men, as propagandists for the revolution."

When the Woman's Department was organized in Yenping only Christian women seemed available for its leadership. Of these a Chinese woman doctor, formerly head of the Woman's Department of the Yenping Hospital, was finally chosen.

"I felt that to accept this position," she told me, "was merely to continue, through a different channel, with my church work. I have not been obliged to alter my convictions or to change my interests. We are working, as I worked before, against foot-binding, against child marriages, and slavery, and for the general uplift of the women of China."

But missionaries, as this Chinese woman indicated, were the pioneers in this work. Professor Edward Alsworth Ross says:

> The missionaries have not proclaimed the "rights of women" or insisted upon the full equality of the sexes. But the women converts gain from reading of the New Testament ideas of their dignity, and come to feel that they have rights which ought to be respected. It gives them courage to become Bible women, teachers, and physicians. From the same source the man learns to look upon his wife in a new light and to feel that he owes her love and respect.[1]

Girls, in the old China, were of slight account among the common people. The daughters of Christian families, however, occupied a different status; they were sent to school and allowed unprecedented freedom. The Christian father was enjoined to regard his daughter with affection rather than as a burden. The attitude of the old China, in the face of this Christian example, began slowly to give way. Many factors have helped to accelerate the change. But the fact that Christians began it and that even now their influence is probably most significant for its wise direction, should not be lost sight of.

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[1] *The Changing Chinese,* p. 240. Reprinted by permission of The Century Company, publishers.

There are some to assert, of course, that the freedom of the women of China has gone too far. The spectacle of Chinese girls carrying flaming banners in nationalist parades or mounted upon Standard Oil tins haranguing the crowds of a village market place is not unusual; it is revolutionary—as revolutionary as every other aspect of the situation in China. In the stress and excitement of the nationalist successes there, no doubt, have been extremists among the women as among the men. But it should be pointed out that the excesses—as in every such movement East or West—are a result of the stress and excitement of the moment rather than of any peculiar unfitness on the part of Chinese women. I know an American who carried with him for some time after the Nanking affair a translation of an extremist poster as proof, apparently, of the bad end to which, because of the nationalist movement, the women of China were coming. But the poster proved nothing about either the women of China or the nationalist movement. It only proved that excesses are the inevitable by-product of social upheaval.

A more typical picture is provided by the two college graduates whose story I told at the opening of this chapter. Their "new freedom" involved courage and patriotism and sacrifice of the highest order. Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer describes an official dinner that he attended in Foochow. The "Number One Men" of the government were all on hand. And there were ladies present. Among these was Miss Lucy Wong, a teacher at Hua Nan College, graduate of an American college, a thoroughly modern young Chinese. When the time for the

speech-making arrived and the rounds were made Miss Wong arose and addressed the government authorities.

"I am a nationalist," she said. "I believe in the principles of the Kuomingtang. I teach them to my students. But I am also a Christian. My students too are Christians. We want to have it known, at the seat of authority, that we object to anti-Christian propaganda. We resent the fact that you are trying to take the Bible classes from our curriculum. We believe that by such a policy you are violating the best principles of the Kuomingtang and weakening the nationalist cause."

It was a straight-from-the-shoulder speech. In the old China, of the immediate past, it would have been impossible. For one thing, in those days, women would not have been present at an official dinner. For another thing, if they had been present, they would not have been asked to speak. Had they been asked to speak, in all likelihood, they would not have dared to discuss matters which were man's special province. And if they had, the men, doubtless, would have derided them.

But in Lucy Wong the new womanhood of China was speaking. The officials gave ear. They knew they had to reckon with the Lucy Wongs. It is one of the achievements of missions that Christianity had had so large a part in the progress that has brought this changed status for women.

In another respect Christianity has had a part in the making of the new China. The Christian's gospel among the Chinese, as among every other people, has proclaimed the doctrine of the inestimable worth of the humblest individual. Rodney Gilbert, all un-

intentionally of course, pays splendid tribute to the missionaries at this point. When he declares that the nationalist leaders are largely a product of Christian training, he adds, derisively, "some of them as strays and waifs whom the missionaries took in and educated out of charity."

The influence of Christianity is derived in considerable measure from the concern which the missionaries have centered upon the "strays and waifs" of the non-white world. That that concern, as Rodney Gilbert indicates, has proved to be transforming, is proof both of the capacity of these peoples and of the potency of the Christian gospel. And this eager regard of Christianity for Chinese lowliest individuals has helped to foster among the Chinese people the belief in themselves and in their national destiny that is so apparent at the present time.

In the last analysis, however, Christianity's contributions to the new China have an experimental foundation. The convictions and purposes of China's Christians are significant because they rest upon an experience which gives them strength and permanence. Just how strong and abiding they have proved to be will appear, I hope, from the material of the succeeding chapter.

Here it is enough to say that the Christian's most essential business in China is not interpretation or medical relief or education. These are undertakings that at some future day the Chinese government will largely direct. But on that day the Christian's essential business will remain. For his ultimate purpose is to develop, with mental and bodily fitness, a fitness of character. He believes that fitness of character, measured by Christian standards, must

find its source in a vital religion. It is his conviction, that for such a task, no other comparable faith has been given unto men save this, which, for more than a century, has gone out through China and the non-white world seeking "strays and waifs"—of body, mind, and spirit—and lifting them to a place of Christlikeness.

CHAPTER IX

CHINA

To Recant or Testify

I heard the story in Hankow.

Hankow in the spring of 1927 was a feverish place. Refugees and riots. Strikes and endless parades. Gunboats. Marines. An occasional ripple of machine guns. Eugene Chen, dapper and English, writing notes. And Michael Borodin, dominating and astute, dictating them.

There were five of us that night, Chinese and foreigners, at the Bishop's residence It was midwinter weather and we crowded around a hard-coal stove in his study. The Bishop talked.

"The spirit of the Chinese people," he said, "is being liberated. There are excesses. These we deplore. But there is emancipation. Ricksha coolies, house-boys, university professors—a new freedom is in the air for them all. The air, itself, is electric.

"For us who are Christians our lives are at stake. Not perhaps in the physical but certainly in the spiritual sense. Our bodies will probably survive the ordeal. But will our faith? We will know, when this day is past, whether Christ is a vital or an incidental fact in the life of China."

And then he told the story: A young preacher in his diocese was sent to minister in a near-by city. The extremists were in control of the place. Christianity was under the ban. Preaching, in general, was interfered with. Street preaching, of all things,

was forbidden. But the young Chinese pastor, having finished the morning service at his little church, determined to try his message in the market place. He did. A great crowd assembled. On the heels of the crowd came soldiers, a special squad, dispatched in haste. The officer in charge, pushing his way through the assembly, laid hold of the preacher, bound his hands, and, between a file of soldiers, marched him off to the public execution grounds. The crowd followed and increased as it went along. At the grounds, apparently, there was to be no delay. The executioner, with a hideous broad-sword and an equally hideous leer, was on hand for his gruesome work. The preacher was shoved to a platform. The crowd surged around it. The officer in charge spoke:

"You know," he said, "that if you will recant we will spare your life. Otherwise . . ." he nodded toward the executioner.

The young preacher understood. He faced toward the crowd and gave his answer.

"I cannot recant," he said, "but I can testify. I want you to know that if you spare my life this day I will return to this place to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. I want you to know also that if you take my life, my spirit will return here to stand as an eternal witness to the faith that I profess."

Something about the young man, his courage and his assurance, moved upon the crowd. They shouted for his release. The officer in charge was moved. He bent down and untied the young man's hands and shoved him back into the crowd, to freedom.

Christianity in China stands to-day—as that Christian preacher stood—at the place of testing.

Its most fundamental assets are not buildings. Many buildings have been destroyed or vacated. Or incomes—they have been greatly reduced. Or missionaries—they have been generally withdrawn. Christianity's assets in China to-day are China's Christians; its strength is constituted from the testimony of their lives.

Will they recant or testify?

The record which constitutes an answer to that question provides also a second reason why China at the present time furnishes the world's finest argument for Christian missions. The Christians of China tried in the innumerable fires of the revolution, have held, undaunted, to their beliefs. They have proved their kinship with the heroic company of those whose dauntlessness, from Stephen's day down to the present, has kept alive the Christian faith.

It needs to be made clear at this point that the Chinese Christian community is overwhelmingly nationalist. While in China every Christian with whom I talked, with but one exception, held enthusiastically to the opinion that the present movement has in it more of hope for China and the Christian Church in China than any development since the coming of the first missionaries more than a century ago.

"If the Christians of America," one Chinese Christian leader said to me, "make up their minds relative to the present movement on the basis of the reports of those who believe their vested interests are at stake, or upon the interpretations of churchmen who know the old China but are out of step with the new, the result will be disastrous. There

is much in the present movement that we Christians deplore. But we, none the less, support it for the greater good that it represents. Christian America, in judging the Kuomingtang and the nationalist movement can well afford to follow, more than it has been willing to follow in the past, the leadership of the Christians of China."

I have seen no better statement of the Christian position on Chinese nationalism, or for that matter, of Christianity itself than that contained in a declaration of the Siangtan Christian Church in a "Self-support Movement Meeting." The statement reads in part:

We Christians, in order to maintain the original Christianity should endeavor to regain the revolutionary spirit that Jesus taught us and put to effect the following tasks:

1. Down with imperialism! One of the Ten Commandments is "Do not be greedy." Jesus taught people and said that greediness should be put out of the heart. Paul said that greed is the root of all sins. . . . The fact that Christianity has been used as an instrument by the avaricious imperialistic countries is not the fault of Christianity, but the fault of those weak Christians who yield and surrender before the teeth of imperialism. To bring about the release of Christianity we should first cast down imperialism.

2. Abolish all unequal treaties made between China and foreign countries. Jesus said "Do unto others as ye wish others to do unto you." Love without equality is no love at all. The unequal treaties were made between China and foreign countries. If they claim to be Christian countries at all, they should abolish all unequal treaties of their own accord.

3. Down with the oppressing classes! Jesus

came that the poor might hear the gospel, the captive might be freed, the blind might receive their sight, and the oppressed might have liberty, . . . the crooked places might be made straight, the roads might be level. The Christians are therefore responsible for all social reforms and should cast down those classes of people who oppress the weak and at the same time assist the weak brothers.

4. Opposition to Conservative Christianity. As Jesus' principle is revolutionary, we Christians should be opposed to conservatism and superstition and still more oppose those faulty Christians who are like the Pharisees and Scribes. . . .

5. National revolution: Jesus was the revolutionist for the Jew and is now recognized as the revolutionist for the whole world. We Christians, setting internationalism as our final goal, should nevertheless begin with the release of our own nation from under the oppression of foreign powers. . . .

The indorsement of the Nationalist movement by China's Christians has not, however, saved them from persecution. The leadership in the aggressive drive against Christianity in which Christians have suffered has fallen into the hands of Communists. That was inevitable. Wherever the evangelists of Soviet Russia preach their gospel, they preach anti-religion, and particularly anti-Christianity. This, I believe, is only partly due to their belief that religion has been "the opiate of the people." It is due to the further reason that Christianity stands for an ideal kingdom on earth—akin in many particulars to that of the Communist. But the Christian declares that that kingdom can never be established save through love, while the Communist is committed, even more zealously, to the doctrine that it can only come through hatred and force. The Commu-

nist, therefore, sees in the Christian a dangerous threat to his own progress and opposes it accordingly.

But the Communists are not wholly responsible for the rise of an anti-Christian movement in China. That movement was under way before Soviet influence was felt. It has been stimulated by China's young intellectuals, many of whom insist that religion, once useful for mankind, has been outgrown in this age of science and is, therefore, an obstacle to progress.

Anti-Christianism has been further stimulated by the fact, indicated by the Christians in Siangtan, that the Western church is felt to have been too closely identified with Occidental imperialism. And anti-Christianism will continue, despite the loyalty of Chinese Christians, until the Western church has clearly and in practical terms repudiated the charge of that association.

Briefly, it is because of these facts that the anti-Christian movement has made headway in China. Its development has brought countless hardships to the Chinese Christians. But their belief in the Nationalist movement remains despite persecutions, and their Christian faith has not been shaken. Some account, therefore, needs to be given of their testimonials.

In West China, when the missionaries evacuated a group of Christian pastors organized a "Flying Squadron" to report at any point where the people were being seriously threatened with anti-Christian propaganda. By means of interviews, public meetings, and tracts or posters, the members of this "squadron" undertook to uphold their faith. And

then, by written contract, they bound themselves to provide, out of their own meager incomes, for the funeral expenses of any who might be slain and to care for their widows and orphans.

In this same district a Chinese committee was appointed to devise ways and means whereby the preachers with large salaries could, by taking a salary cut, help their less fortunate associates. When salary reductions were finally necessary for all the men, one of them, spokesman for the entire group, declared:

"If we were in the employ of some other institution, the Post Office, for example, we would now call a strike. But we have talked the matter over. We have decided not to strike. The job of preaching the gospel is not that of the missionaries but of us Chinese. We, therefore, will return to our tasks even though we have scarcely enough to live. We will do our utmost, God helping us."

I received a letter sent by a group of graduate students at Nanking University to the head of the Department of Agriculture in that institution. In the absence of missionaries and with scarcely any funds they were carrying on.

"The way of love is tediously long," they write, "but victorious eventually. We all believe that the love of Christ will eventually win out. God will preserve every drop of sweat that you have shed for his work."

And as a part of the same testimony they continue:

"The cotton-planting began last Tuesday and we hope the majority of the general stuff will be finished this week. We are carrying on all the field experi-

ments and herbarium work. We shall be glad to report to you from time to time the results of these experiments."

All the anti-Christian drives, the excesses of banditry, the persistent threats of agitators have not been able to drive these Christians to the desertion of their faith.

A college girl from Nanking wrote a "Review of the First Month" after the missionary evacuation. It is necessary to understand the conditions that prevailed, at that time, in Nanking to realize the significance of this document. The city was aswarm with troops more or less out of control. Bandits had completed the looting of foreign properties and the homes of many Chinese Christians. Christian schools had been badly damaged. Soldiers were quartered everywhere. There was fighting on the outskirts of the city. In the midst of this chaos and uncertainty the little community of Christians drew together determined to carry forward their work and, above all, to give good testimony of their faith.

The missionaries had gone, driven to Shanghai by the attacks upon them. Funds were cut off. Many of the students were scattered. But this Chinese girl writes:

On the next day the Chinese faculty met and organized themselves into a committee and the work of the college was distributed among them. One member was asked especially to deal with outsiders. . . . Discussion groups for the study of Doctor Sun's three principles were ready to come into existence. . . . The students were very active in the city activities. Some girls were asked to help in the office of the Women's League. Some girls were

asked to be secretaries at the central office of the city party committee. Some girls then joined the party and started a subdistrict committee in the college. Thus we were connected with the party and they served as a radio set to receive news and schemes of the party. In the evening we would all gather in one social room under the light of a single kerosene lamp, for we no longer have electricity. After hearing the reports from different delegates we would discuss plans for the next day. . . .

The first Sunday has meant a great deal to me. I think it deserves special mentioning. All the churches of the city were occupied by soldiers. Some of the university boys were in great distress. They came to the president of our Y. W. C. A. and they said: "We have no place to worship. Would you do anything to help us?"

The president of the Y. W. C. A. then brought the question to us.

"No," we agreed, "we had better not have a service to-day, for if we do, we are likely to get into trouble."

But there was a disagreement. One of the girls remarked: "Why not have a service? Should we not do what we ought rather than what it is safe to do?"

And another settled the matter with the declaration:

"We are Christians. Of course we will keep our Sundays and worship. It is not a debatable question."

So it was finally decided to invite the boys and to have worship. It was all prayers and no singing. After prayers we had free discussions. The question of helping these Chinese sisters and brothers who are now in trouble was brought up. We were sorry to see the Bible Training School girls wandering in the streets with no place to go. We must provide them a home where they can find food and rest. A committee of five was appointed. They were asked to look up these girls and find a place for them. The

college and girls' school and a few other places were soon opened for the refugees. They were welcomed in with very sympathetic and warm hearts.

As far as the religious life of the college is concerned, I am very optimistic about it. Through trials and temptations we only see the Christians strengthened in their faith, but not weakened. We keep a prayer meeting at seven-thirty every morning. It is on a pure voluntary basis. But to this meeting found not only the Christians but the non-Christians too. The Y. W. C. A. people are doing their best to meet the demands of the thirsty souls. . . .

Now we have had a strike. But we settled it. The laborers at the college refused to weed the campus. So we girls all went out together and did the weeding ourselves. The laborers came back again.

In Foochow I visited Hwa Nan College. It was this school that trained the two Chinese girls who went to Yenping in the face of the disorders there. I found that Hwa Nan has more than pedagogy in its laboratories and classrooms. From the cheerful old woman who guards the compound gate to the president of the school there is a spirit that makes the place a bit of the kingdom of heaven well along in the making. The assurance of the two girls in that uncertain boat was a part of the Hwa Nan spirit.

There are photographs on the walls of the reception rooms at Hwa Nan of the various classes that have graduated from the college. The number, for a school that is only a little more than ten years old, is fairly large. It is not the number that is significant, however, but the fact that every graduate, save one, has gone from her commencement into some form of Christian service. The Hwa Nan

spirit has gone into the remotest hills of Fukien Province.

When the Kuomingtang captured the city of Foochow the students—nationalists to the last one—took part in the program of the party. They worked after hours in the student section; they helped prepare educational posters; they paraded and sat in on the patriotic mass meetings. Then the Communist, anti-Christian wing, swung temporarily into power. A drive was declared against Christian schools and particularly against Hwa Nan, where Christianity seemed to be especially vital. Pressure was brought to bear on the students. Spies circulated among the dormitories. Special girl propagandists were sent to spread anti-Christian literature. On three occasions threatening mobs invaded the compound and broke into the buildings. Only the coolness of the teachers and the students averted a catastrophe.

In the end the anti-Christians gave it up as a bad job. Not a single Hwa Nan student had wavered in her loyalty. The chief of the propagandists, who had paid regular visits to the dormitories left, finally, with the remark: "Hwa Nan is absolutely hopeless. Even the high-school girls cannot be made anti-Christians."

And through all the disorders that came their way the Hwa Nan girls on every Sunday afternoon continued to go out to conduct Sunday schools in twenty-three of the nearby villages.

Easter week came just after the Communists of the city had made a last desperate effort to shut down the school. But Hwa Nan was not shutting down—not the week before Easter, at any rate.

The Communist leaders were dismayed to receive an invitation to attend the services of Holy Week at the school that they had sought to destroy. On the night of Good Friday the entire student body, high school and college, joined in a communion service of dedication. They were not defying the Communists. They were simply bearing Christian witness.

The boys of the William Nast College, in Kiukiang, like the girls at Hwa Nan, are one hundred per cent nationalist. They believe the Kuomingtang to be the agent for a free and united China. When nationalist forces hammered at the gates of the city and, finally, captured it, the students at William Nast were wildly enthusiastic. The national deliverers had come!

But in Kiukiang, as in many other cities, the red wing of the party proved too strong for the bona fide nationalists and established a temporary domination. With the reds there came at once, an anti-Christian drive. The boys at the college were disturbed. They had been active in the nationalist program in the city. But they could not support the anti-Christians.

Then one day the propagandists came to William Nast and appealed to the students. A great anti-Christian parade was being organized. Would they participate? There was a unanimous "No." Well, then, they would make the parade anti-religious. Would they participate in that? Again, "No." Suppose it were an "Anti-all-that-is-bad-in-all religions." "No." All right. It will be just anti-imperialism. For that William Nast turned out *en masse*.

But the anti-Christians were not to be defeated so

easily. Once the parade was under way and they began their "Down-with-Religion" songs, the Christian boys, as they marched, took hurried council together and then broke out in great volume with the national anthem. And whenever, after that, the anti-Christian songs began, they were drowned out with the Chinese hymn.

Something of that sort happened in Yenping. The Sunday-school children of the city refused, in a body, to join in the anti-religious parades that were a daily feature of the program of the Communists. They suffered for their stand, but they refused to abandon it. It was a part of the Christmas program among the Christian young people of Yenping, to go out, at sunrise on Christmas morning, and sing carols through the streets of the Chinese city. This year the Communists, however, proposed to outwit them. They therefore planned their own carols deriding religion and agreed to be abroad at the same hour that the Christians would be singing their way through the city.

But a young Sunday-school pupil got wind of the proposal. The next Sunday morning he told his class. The entire Sunday school held an impromptu mass meeting. On Christmas morning, as a result, the Christian carollers were on the streets at half-past two. They hurried down through twisted streets to the Communist headquarters and standing there in the cold dark of Christmas morning, they sang together in Chinese:

"O little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by.

Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee to-night."

It is from Yenping also that the story comes of Ding Chang Hua. Ding is a Christian preacher. When the reds came prancing in, they occupied a number of Christian buildings with their military forces. Ding circulated a petition among the Christians for the return of those buildings. His signature was first on the list. The request, with the names signed to it, was taken to Communist headquarters and laid before the authorities. They were infuriated at the impertinence of the Yenping Christians.

The next morning an official messenger appeared at Ding's home. A message from the authorities, which he brought, gave the preacher three days to leave the city "on penalty of death." That was Wednesday. Ding smiled, acknowledged the warning, and went about his work. On Sunday he was in his pulpit at the Methodist church. In the midst of the first hymn a young officer and a guard of soldiers appeared at the church door. They paraded down the aisle.

"What we want," the officer announced to the congregation, "is a man by the name of Ding Chang Hua."

Pastor Ding closed his Bible, pocketed his sermon notes and came down from the pulpit.

"Here is your man," he said. He extended his hands, and was bound securely and carried away between a file of soldiers.

The congregation was in despair. But only for a moment. A local preacher took the service in hand. He led an impromptu prayer service and at its end declared: "Now we can help to answer these prayers. If one of us suffers, then all of us must suffer with him."

So the congregation filed out of the church and down through the streets of the city toward the headquarters of the military commander. As they went other Christians joined them. This was a new kind of parade for Communist-ruled Yenping. At headquarters Ding's summary trial was already under way. The official in charge, when he saw the Christians was amazed at their number and alarmed because of their courage.

"Don't you know," he said, "that your lives are in danger. Christians dare not risk showing themselves in such numbers down here in the midst of the city."

The spokesman for the Christians ignored his protest.

"We have come," he said, "on behalf of Pastor Ding. We want a share in his suffering. If he goes to jail, we are here to stay until we can go with him."

There was a hurried conference among the officers. The situation was embarrassing—too embarrassing. No one had dreamed that the Christians were made of such determined stuff. There were warnings, to save face. And apologies, to save face. And Pastor Ding was released. The Christian spokesman led him to the head of the congregation that was waiting in the courtyard. He walked, there, as they marched past the shops, through the market place and on to the Christian church. And

they too as they went along sang so that all the city could hear:

"Onward, Christian soldiers!

. . . . . .

"Like a mighty army,
Moves the church of God;
Brothers, we are treading,
Where the saints have trod;
We are not divided,
All one body, we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity."

Foochow, as I have already indicated, went through this period of red domination. When the Communist chaos was at its height a campaign was made to take over control of all Christian schools. And it was proposed to further that campaign by the use of force. A mass meeting was called on a parade ground near the Christian institutions. There were inflammatory speeches. The crowd was stirred to the proper pitch, when a Chinese preacher, a graduate of the Protestant Episcopal Theological School in Philadelphia, appeared. The presence of a clergyman infuriated the speaker. He pointed him out, and called on the crowd to "Disgrace this running dog of the Imperialists."

They set upon him, bound him, put a dunce cap on his head and, began a parade, pointing at him and jeering him and prodding him along with clubs. Pastor Lin did not cry out. He refused to answer his tormentors. But when the parade was over he turned to them and said: "Next Sunday morning I will preach, as I always do, in the church on Nan Tai Island. You are invited to come."

The story of Lin's courage spread through the city. He was showered with letters of congratulation from Christians and non-Christians. The next Sunday morning his church had an unheard of attendance. The crowd was not one of curious non-Christians, for it was communion Sunday and nearly all of the congregation joined in the sacrament. And the tide, on that day, was turned against the extremists. A missionary describing the developments that followed, writes:

"Many times, during the last few days, Chinese Christians have come to me to say: "We Christians now are determined to stand together. An attack upon the schools is an attack upon the church, and an attack upon the church is an attack upon us. We will not give in."

It is because of these testimonials that China to-day furnishes so potent an apologetic Christianity. For the first time in the history of the mission field an opportunity has been given to take a fundamental inventory of Christian achievement. None of the old arguments about rice Christians, or foreign influences, are pertinent, now, in China. An account of Christianity there is no longer a report of the progress of Christian projects but a record of the lives of Christians. And the Christians have stood alone, without other bulwarks than their faith, to give their own accounting. Great administrative changes are called for. They can now be made in the full consciousness that Christianity in China has become indigenous; that, tried in the fires of persecution, China's Christians have refused to recant and have dared to testify.

CHAPTER X

KOREA

Geography and a Challenge

Geography has been unkind to the Koreans. Their country is crowded into the most coveted corner of Asia. At her frontiers the territories of Russia, Japan, and China meet. All three powers have held or desired—and doubtless still desire—to hold the land. To Japan Korea furnishes both a gateway into the Farther East and a bulwalk against the foes that she may encounter there. But the fact that the authority of Japan is now firmly intrenched does not destroy the importance of Korea in the expansion plans of other nations. Every added incident in the struggle to control Manchuria—hotbed of Far Eastern rivalries—increases the importance of Korea as the territory over which, eventually, the struggle may be fought out.

This geographical misfortune and the curse of Imperialism have cost the Korean people their independence. There are in Korea educated leaders capable of setting up and directing a democratic state. But here, as in empires around the world and by the same freebooter tactics the self-determination of a weaker people is sacrificed to the self-interest of a stronger. There are many, of course, who view it as unfortunate that the Korean people are disinclined to accept from Japan good roads and trains and factories in exchange for their liberty. But for that particular disinclination they

have some historical precedent. At the time that the cry for independence was raised in 1919 it was not a recalcitrant Korean people who were speaking. Rather, when the nation shouted "Mansei!" its voice was neither national nor racial but human and instinctive, and at one with the chorus that has been raised, from history's beginnings, by courageous men, determined to be free.

But the same geography that, politically, has cost the Koreans dearly, provides them in another field an unequaled opportunity. Korea's strategic location is of no more political than of spiritual importance. If she is a buffer state between rival powers, she is no less a buffer state between conflicting ideas.

Propagandists for many things, good and evil, cry their wares across Korea's borders. On her streets and trains there are salesmen and evangelists, agents of Soviet Russia, officials from Japan, nationalist Chinese, Western traders, Christian missionaries. Her young men have gone abroad—with passports and without—to enroll in schools of various sorts: in Moscow's college of revolutionary technique, in China's nationalist armies, in the technical schools of Europe and Russia, in Christian colleges. They have returned to preach, openly or in secret, a variety of faiths.

And Korea, at her important corner near the gateway to the East, is a significant proving ground. This most of all is true for Christianty.

Propinquity and politics may limit Korea's right to contribute to the political progress of Asia. Such a limitation, however, can hardly affect her opportunity for spiritual contributions. I have talked

with Korean Christians who were squarely facing the possibility that, in the loss of their political independence there was a call to the winning of something of even greater significance. When I asked a group of girls in Seoul what Christianity had accomplished for Korea one of them said: "Christianity, for us, means both hope and courage. We have no other source. If we are to be deprived of a political destiny, perhaps we can make a spiritual destiny. It is likely that many empires, built on political authority, will be forgotten before the memory of Palestine is blotted out. We, like the Jews, are of a small state at the mercy of our neighbors. But our spirits are not at their mercy. We may yet—who knows?—make history here in Asia of a kind that will survive the history of politics."

It is precisely to the making of that kind of history that the Christian in Korea is called. It is not that spiritual self-determination can or should reconcile the Korean people to the loss of their political freedom. That loss, however, is a fact of apparent permanence. How, then, do the Koreans propose to order their future? Will they accept, with singleness of purpose, the religious opportunity that certainly confronts them? Perhaps not. But the world waits now, as it has waited for twenty centuries, to see the meaning of Christianity when it has been uncompromisingly accepted by a whole people and its ideals established in their social institutions. A demonstration of that sort might prove poor compensation for the loss of political freedom. But it would place Korea, with little doubt, in the forefront of a religious movement as significant for the Far East as any of the movements of politics.

Korea, moreover, is uniquely fitted for this spiritual contribution. Here the country's geography is an asset. The country is important in the struggle for economic and political control in Eastern Asia because of her location. Her importance from the standpoint of spiritual leadership is derived, in part, from the same reason. A vital Christianity accepted by her people and planted there at the threshold into three great empires could hardly fail to be a history-making leaven.

It is a further asset that Korea, in significant contact with the forces abroad in the East, is, none the less, somewhat aloof from them. The Koreans, politically subject, are free, religiously, to give themselves, with undiverted loyalty, to a nation-wide Christian experiment. Such an experiment would probably require a relatively small laboratory. It would want, too, a bit of freedom at the outset from some of those critical issues of international and interracial relationship, that, by a natural development, would later on be faced. These qualifications the Korean people possess.

But the most fundamental aspect of the question of fitness does not relate to geography. Rather it relates to spiritual capacity. And the question of the spiritual capacity of the Korean people involves a rather extended record of Christian progress in that land.

Christianity, in Korea, had its first-century epoch. Just how the first word of the Christian message reached the Hermit Kingdom is unknown. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Christian tracts, printed in Chinese at Peking, were filtering through the Great Wall aboard Korea-bound cara-

vans. Some of them fell into the hands of prominent Koreans, and three of the most noted scholars of the day were finally converted. By 1785 Christianity was making rapid headway in the land. But the government, alarmed that the Christians were neglecting ancestor worship, initiated the first persecutions against them. From then for more than three quarters of a century the history of Christianity in Korea is a history of steady growth and successive persecutions. Early in 1866 the notorious Taiwon Kun, regent for the king of Korea, determined to put an end once and for all to the Christian faith. Without warning he ordered the slaying of all those who had professed it and, in a ten-day orgy of killing, he is said to have slain thirty thousand Korean Christians.

Until he retired from politics in 1873 the Taiwon Kun never relented his hostility. But once he had retired, Christianity revived, its influence began again to extend and within a decade Protestant missionaries were establishing their work in the land.

But the background will bear remembering. It is indicative of the spiritual equipment of the Korean people that several generations before evangelical missions were established thousands of Korean Christians under Roman Catholic leadership proved their faith by their martyrdom. That was Korea's first-century Christianity.

Its spirit of sacrifice persists.

Yengbeng is a town of five thousand people more than half hidden in the hills of northern Korea. Twenty-five years ago Charles Morris, a journeyman evangelist, came down the hill road to the town, saw the signboards near its gates proscribing Chris-

tians and began forthwith to preach the gospel. The signboards have long since disappeared. But not the gospel that "Charlie" Morris preached.

I was in Yengbeng on Easter morning. The Methodist church was crowded with Koreans in spotless white. There was a pageant of kindergarten children; singing; a sermon: "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."

There was Easter beauty in the valleys, warm sunlight and the promise of spring, and Easter glory in the little church.

After the sermon I remained for the class meeting. It was more than that. With the prayer and testimony there was also fasting. And for a purpose. The Christian school at Yengbeng was threatened, by decreased appropriations, with extinction. There was very little that the Christians of the place could do more than they were already doing. But they could pray—and fast. Every Sabbath, therefore, some thirty or forty church members substitute this prayer service for their Sunday dinners. And the few yen saved, each week, go toward the saving of the school.

This spirit finds a normal expression among Christians throughout the country. It is only in Korea I believe that the tithing principle strictly applied would be likely to reduce the resources of the church. The giving of Korean Christians, of all denominations, averages about five per cent of their total incomes. But in many local churches the average is as high as fifteen per cent. In the Pyengyang district the ninety-two Methodist churches are wholly self-supporting, including the support of the pastor, the

local maintenance and contributions to the Conference Benevolences. Twenty years ago the missionary who has led in the development of this work took one American dollar and, with Yankee ingenuity, sought to make it go as far as possible. To-day to every American dollar that he receives the Koreans add sixteen.

I visited a ramshackle Christian church at Nonsan in the valley of the River Kum. The problem before the Christians there was to shoulder the expenses of the church or lose it. Of their negotiable incomes they were already giving as much, probably more, than could be spared. So it was agreed to share their food with the church. Collection bags were made and distributed to the women of the congregation, who hung them at home near their kitchen fires. From the portion of rice for each meal a spoonful—large or small depending upon the economic status of the family—was poured into the bag. On Sunday these bags were taken to church, the contents weighed, the member given credit in the best Western fashion, and the offerings sold, in the Monday market, to provide some further guarantee that Christian work in the village may be continued.

That, in Korea, is what it means to be a rice Christian.

It is, likewise, a modern expression of the sacrificial spirit of Korea's earlier Christianity. And that spirit provides the Korean people with one of the indispensable qualifications for the religious opportunity that confronts them.

It is a further qualification that Korea, at the present time, is in a period of intellectual awakening. There is a developing alertness to the new tides

of thought that are stirring the East. Night schools have become a part of the program of the Christian Church both in rural and in city communities. The curricula are not designed to prepare the students, most of whom are working young people, for school, but to fit them to read and write and to give them access to the literature of what-is-happening in the world.

In Yengbeng, secluded as it is, twenty-five miles from the railroad, the Korean Young Men's Club, a non-Christian organization, turned their club building over to the missionary for a Christian kindergarten and voted, from their funds, the salary of one teacher.

When I asked a group of laymen in this town what Christianity had accomplished in it, one of them said: "It has given us the beginning of a Christian civilization."

And he explained what he meant: "First, Christianity has brought schools. Twenty years ago, before the missionaries came, there were no facilities for learning and no desire to learn. Second, we have learned, through Christianity, a new attitude toward women. Formerly Korean women were not allowed on the streets; there was very little social life; they were our inferiors. That attitude is gone and, in its place an ideal has come that is more nearly Christian. Third, community responsibility has come with Christianity. Our Young Men's Clubs and night schools, as well as the Christian Church, have begun to establish the ideal of social welfare among the people. Finally, before we knew of the Christian teachings the devil house," pointing to a tumbling pile of stones on a near-by hill, "dominated

the life of the village. We were ignorant and afraid and superstitious, uncertain of ourselves and as unfamiliar with the great world over the hills as we were unqualified to have a part in it. Since the Christians came the devil house has fallen into disuse. There are new thoughts here in the valley and new aspirations. Yengbeng is a different place."

In fact, Christianity, more than in most lands, is responsible for the intellectual awakening in Korea. Pai Chai—the Hall for Rearing Useful Men—is the oldest school of Western learning in Korea. It is located in Seoul and carries on now—as it has always carried on—under severe financial handicaps. I spoke at Pai Chai chapel one morning. The chapel building was ancient, and scarcely rainproof. There were no chairs. The thousand boys present stood packed together during the entire service.

And yet Pai Chai is no ordinary place. The first Korean organization using parliamentary rules was formed among Pai Chai students. The first Korean daily and weekly newspapers were started within its walls. The first formal lectures in Korea were delivered in its auditorium. Experimental science was first taught in its classrooms. The first Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Pai Chai's building. Of Pai Chai's one thousand students more than seventy-five per cent accept Christianity by the end of the first year.

And the record of Pai Chai, in the main, is that of all the Christian schools. They have opened doors for Korea into the modern world. And the eagerness with which the people of that land are surging through them is another indication of their fitness to share in the spiritual leadership of the Orient.

There is a third qualification. The Christian Church in Korea is a missionary church. Save in a few instances where theological bigotries have been imposed from the West, there is nothing ingrown in the Christianity of the Koreans. They have taken their faith in all earnestness and, sometimes with disconcerting directness, have sought to put first things first in its practice.

There is, for example, the matter of church union. It was a normal expression of the vital faith of the Christian community that last year, after preliminary work by official committees, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea, voted to unite in an organic union. The missionary program, of course, had set good precedent for this move. In such outstanding union enterprises as the Chosen Christian College, the Union Methodist Theological Seminary, the Severance Union Medical College, and the Pyengyang Union Christian Hospital, Christians of all denominations, have learned to believe that they are members of a common community. But something more than precedent was required to complete the step from interdenominational co-operation to actual unity. And that further spiritual quality the Korean Christians supplied. Union was not a reflection of their radicalism, but a simple measure of the vitality of their faith.

It is this same earnestness that has led to the establishment of a Korea foreign missionary society. Year after year a steady stream of Korean emigrants pours across the border into Manchuria. Korean Christians felt an obligation toward these pioneers. Overburdened as they were to maintain their own

work, they none the less launched a program to minister to the Manchurian community. Each circuit of work in that territory is assigned to a circuit in Korea. There is a thank-offering service, throughout Korea, on Thanksgiving Day. Gifts of every conceivable sort from wooden shoes to live chickens and bags of rice are piled on the altars of the Methodist churches. They represent sacrificial giving. Their sale maintains the missionary budget. Some three thousand dollars every year are raised thus by Korean Christians for their self-assigned Manchurian field.

But Korea can hardly assume the place of Christian leadership for which these qualifications fit her without the continued co-operation of Western Christians.

That co-operation is necessary in order that Christianity may find a more general acceptance among Koreans. It is remarkable that after only little more than a generation of missionary work, there are 250,000 adherents to the Protestant Church in Korea. But there are, in all, nearly 20,000,000 Koreans. The importance of the 250,000 Christians is out of all proportion to their numerical strength. The influence of the thing that they represent has pervaded, in an extraordinary way, the life of the land. But to meet, adequately, the spiritual opportunity that confronts Korea, the field must be more intensively occupied.

I went out from the city of Kongju into the Valley of a Thousand Villages. There, in a territory 5,000 square miles in extent, there are 1,115,000 people. Only 6,000 of them are Christians. Sixteen Korean pastors cover the entire district. They are itinerants

in the real sense of the word—with from four to twelve preaching places each. From a hill near the center of this great territory we counted twenty villages. Among the twenty there is but one Christian family. And the nearest pastor has eleven churches on his hands.

The Korean people are asking, insistently, for this further evangelism. Every helpful contact between Christians and non-Christians increases that insistence. The missionary doctors at Haiju tell of a mid-winter night in their first months on the field when they were summoned to an outlying village to the bedside of a man whose condition required an immediate operation. The patient lay on the floor surrounded by a large delegation of villagers. The surgeon cleared the place, did some elemental scouring, and on her knees with lantern and flashlight illumination completed a successful operation. The patient lived. And the wonder of that Christian miracle spread through the countryside. Delegations came to the city to see the doctors in their hospital. And finally, from two of the largest villages, official word was sent: "We witnessed what you did for our friend. We remember your prayers for us and for him that night. Now we send to ask for Christian preachers, in order that your religion can come to stay with us in our two villages."

Korea will hardly be a leaven for the evangelizing of Eastern Asia without first having been helped to a more complete evangelizing of her own people. The challenge of these must be heeded who stand at the doors of the church and knock and bid us to follow them with a Christian gospel down the way that lies wide open into the last villages of the land. The

missionary appeal for Korea is that Western Christians may endow and empower Koreans to undertake that ministry.

There are other problems which confront the Korean Christian community with the necessity for Western co-operation. Unquestionably one of the most serious issues confronting the people, at the present time, is economic. The Japanese, increasingly, are dominating both the industrial and the agricultural life of the land. Korea's population, moreover, is said to be increasing at the rate of 200,000 a year. The forty thousand who yearly move into Manchuria relieve the situation only very slightly. To meet the economic problems to which these facts give rise involves an extensive program and adequate support. Under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association a twofold plan has been launched. There is, first, an adult educational movement. In the rural communities farmers are being gathered into classes, taught to read and write, and given simple instruction in better methods of agriculture and sanitation. In the second place, there is a co-operative movement. Credit societies have been established. Farmers are instructed in the advantages of buying and selling together. They are taught to help themselves through the "slack" period in order to market their produce when the prices are "right."

Work of this sort is an imperative necessity for the Christian churches of Korea. There, as elsewhere in the world, the matter of economic redemption is an essential part of the Christian's evangelical message. Three Americans or Koreans, trained and sent to this work, could lay, in twenty years, the

economic foundations for a new Korea. But up to the present, for lack of leadership and resources, the churches have been impotent in the face of this opportunity.

At Kongju, near the edge of the Valley of a Thousand Villages, where there is a scattering Christian ministry among 1,115,000 people, the missionary told me his program to begin a practical village ministry. He proposes to take the youth of Christian families, give them intensive training in the business of community reconstruction and send them back to their homes—evangelists in the completely transforming sense of that word. But his classes in carpentry, and agriculture, in sanitation, and the organization of co-operatives must wait upon support from the more adequately endowed Christians of the Western church.

Missionary co-operation with the Koreans is necessary for this further reason. The resources of the Western church have made it possible to establish, and are necessary to continue, those outstanding educational and medical institutions which have set an ideal for the Koreans and have been a source of strength to Christianity. Christians would hardly dare, for example, to dispense with such an institution as Ewha Haktang, the girls' school at Seoul. The contributions of Ewha are only limited by the possibilities of Christian home life and Christian motherhood. And the significance of this school is in no sense lessened by the fact that the Koreans, as yet, are not able from a financial point of view to maintain it.

I visited Haiju in the midst of a malaria epidemic. Three hundred children were said to have

died in a city of less than twenty thousand. It was from the Christian hospital in the place that the only effective fight was being waged against it. The doctor in this same hospital has secured land on a high hill overlooking the sea for Korea's first tuberculosis sanatorium. Korea, at Haiju, provides the need. Western Christians are called upon to provide the means for meeting it.

But there are other reasons for continued missionary co-operation. One of Korea's leading Christian laymen outlined some of them for me one day in Seoul.

"Korea," he said, "needs the religious background of the West. Not that we expect to accept it all without change. But with the gospel we need also its interpreters. If left alone at this stage we are likely to merge Christianity too closely into our own Confucian background and, thereby, lose some of its strength. With your interpreters and our background we may be able to enrich both our religious experience and yours.

"In the second place, from the international and the interracial point of view we need the missionary. Out here, where there is so much confusion and conflict in both fields, the Western Christian is a stabilizer for our own points of view. We cannot dispense with him.

"Finally, he is necessary to complete what has been begun. Eventually, of course, foreign missions will become, in fact, Christianity in Korea. That process is already under way. But the missionary provides the leadership that can help us through the transition period. And at its end, if he is content to live among us as the representative of Christ

rather than as the manager of an enterprise, he will still be indispensable."

It adds significance to the outline of this layman that the non-Christian faiths of Korea are, just now, in a period of revival. This is particularly true in the case of Buddhism and of Confucianism. A variety of cults, arising from the contact of these religions with Christianity, have also appeared. Japan, in a somewhat official sense, is sponsoring, for patriotic reasons, the nationalist Shinto faith. There is, therefore, no lack of alternatives to Christianity. And in that fact there is a challenge to those who believe that, however many alternatives, there is no substitute for the Christian gospel.

With the advantages of strategic situation, fitted with such definite spiritual capacities and assured of the continued co-operation of the Western church, the Christians of Korea are called, I believe, to a mission to make that gospel supreme in the land. Japan and China and Russia are preoccupied with a multitude of transitory concerns. Korea, set somewhat apart from this struggle for territory and for trade, may even provide to the Far East a transforming spiritual leaven. More widely Christianized and conscious of their religious opportunity, the Korean people can furnish, if they will, both a demonstration of the nation-wide workability of Christ's gospel and an agency for its more effective extension.

But first the aspiration for this task must lay hold upon the Koreans as it laid hold upon those who preached at Pentecost.

I sat one night in a Korean city with a group of young men who had been in the forefront of the Independence Movement in 1919. Their loyalty to

its ideals had not diminished. They explained their vision of a free Korea and their spokesman concluded with the simple statement:

"These that you see here are they who would die for freedom."

I knew that he told the truth. And I know too that—for the realization of Korea's spiritual destiny—a similar spirit must find religious expression. Possessing that loyalty and singleness of purpose the quarter of a million Korean Christians, preaching an effective gospel at their important corner of the East, can help to open a way across the Orient into a more Christlike world.

CHAPTER XI

JAPAN

Christianity and the Leadership of Asia

To underestimate the importance of a program of Christian extension in Japan is to reveal an ignorance of the importance of Japan in the life of the East. Japan is a symbol before every aspiring people across the Orient. In the face of a white-run world, the Japanese have reached that place of equality and self-determination for which other nations of the East are just beginning, effectively, to struggle. Their status is an ideal before non-white peoples because it represents a self-made exception to the inferior position to which, as the rule, those peoples are consigned.

There are precedents for good and ill in the history of Japan's seventy dazzling years of modern growth. The record up to 1905, important as it was, had not yet caught the imagination of the East. For one thing, the East two decades ago was not alert as it is to-day when no flare on the world horizon burns unseen. Moreover, the facts of Japan's progress up to then appeared to be of only incidental importance so far as the aspirations of the Orient, in general, were concerned. Those who watched the growing strength of the Japanese were well aware that its testing time had not yet come. The nations of the West, then, had the fight for Oriental supremacy entirely to themselves. There were no others to intrude. An Asiatic nation,

possessed with confidence and bidding for power, was destined, soon or late, to be called upon to prove itself in this Western game, with Western weapons and by Western rules.

This the Japanese did in 1904 and 1905 in the war with Russia. With the defeat of Russia, Chinese and Indians and Africans stirred themselves, rubbed their eyes, half unbelieving, and stepped out, awakened, into a new day. Since then other days have come and gone. But the old docility has never quite returned. And now, after twenty years, these Chinese and Indians and Africans are coming into possession of the materials and the spirit that may enable them to do what Japan has done.

The tragedy of those twenty years is not that non-white peoples are awake, but, rather, that the West has failed to convince them that there is any other way than by force by which their awakening can culminate in freedom.

It is for these reasons that the eyes of the Orient are upon Japan. The current irritations of international politics may arouse inter-Asiatic hostilities, as has been frequently the case between Japan and China. But only temporarily. It is a conviction among intelligent Chinese, as it is among the non-jingo group in Japan, that the future of the two countries requires, not hostility, but the closest co-operation. And beyond China, the active leadership of Japan in a self-assertive non-white world is a widely accepted certainty. It is true, in no casual sense, that as goes Japan so goes the East.

There is, therefore, probably no greater challenge in the world to-day than this to Christianize the influence of Japan. Such an undertaking, obviously,

must involve, first of all, a more complete Christianizing of the life of the Japanese people. And in that process more than Japan's international influence is involved. In a very real sense the moral and spiritual life of the nation—its soul welfare—is at stake.

This, incidentally, is not merely an expression of missionary opinion. Rather it reflects the judgment of many of the most thoughtful Japanese—statesmen, educators, and business men. These leaders look to the future with some alarm. Material Japan advances steadily. Spiritual Japan appears to lag. Wheels and cables and cranes, electric trains, steamers and modern docks are the sinews of her modern life. Thinking Japanese are concerned to know whether they will serve to free or to bind her people.

One of these students of Japanese life declared recently: "The gravest defect of the present-day Japan is that we have abandoned ourselves to the lure of material civilization with all the mad rush of a flood tumbling in one direction and turned our backs on spiritual activities. We are facing the fateful hour, and I would pray that our people turn their thoughts to their spiritual welfare."

And this industrialism has had its intellectual corollary. Materialism, bred by the devotees of modern science, holds wide sway in the universities of the nation. Japanese studying in Occidental universities have found that the Christian philosophy does not hold undisputed sway over the minds of the so-called Christian West. They have been swept, by the shibboleths of free thought or the bigotries of ecclesiastics, into an atheistic, anti-Christian point of view. Returned to Japan, they have advocated it

among the youth of that land. Utilitarianism—in keeping with these new doctrines and the spirit of the time—has threatened to become the philosophy of the day. And the spirit of Japan has suffered. For this Christianity has offered a panacea. It remains for Japan to give it a trial.

Toyohiko Kagawa, by birth, is one of Japan's blue bloods. But he lives in a nine-by-six hut in the Shinkawa slums of Kobe. His associates are the twenty thousand down and outs of that great city. The burdens that he bears are those of disease and sorrow and uncertainty from which they suffer. He is a young man, but his health is broken. Blindness threatens. And still in the nine-by-six hut he carries on.

Christians and non-Christians have made it a place of pilgrimage, for Kagawa's influence has gone out to the ends of the Japanese Empire. His labor unions and Consumers Co-operatives, his Protective Union for Farmers—these are the practical expressions of his gospel. And so is the little Christian brotherhood—the "Jesus Band"—with their slum chapel, where Kagawa, when he is able, preaches every night; and the "Friends of Jesus" whom he has banded together to send missionaries to the head hunters of Formosa.

Kagawa came to Shinkawa seventeen years ago—a graduate of Meijii Gakuin in Tokyo and of Princeton Theological Seminary. He was driven there by his faith that the Christian gospel could transform the place. Through him the voice of Jesus Christ is speaking to Japan. And there are many who hear it gladly.

But Kagawa's ministry is significant for more

than the poor of Kobe. It represents uniquely the Christian emphasis for which Japan stands in greatest need. His message, preached among those who have been caught and crushed in the wheels of modern industry, would establish a living inscription before the entrance to Japan's factories and banks and places of trade that "Man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesses."

In the need for the establishment of that gospel in her national life Japan is of the kindred of the industrial, dollar-dominated West. But the need is not lessened by that fact. Rather, it is as apparent in Japan as in any Occidental nation that for the task of restraining the machinery of the nation and investing it with human significance there is no substitute for Christianity. That the Christian's gospel has never in all seriouness been put to this work only increases the realization of its capacity.

And in Japan it is true that the position of Christianity, at the present time, gives it a unique opportunity. The various transitions through which it has gone appear, now, to have been a preparatory process for such an undertaking.

In the first two decades of the growth of modern Japan everything Western was given eager acceptance. And Christianity was believed to be the cultural synonym for all desirable Occidentalisms. There was widespread sentiment in favor of making Christianity a national religion. The growth of the church was of mass-movement proportions. The Christian faith, in short, was held to be an asset in the politico-material development that was under way.

But a reaction followed. Between 1885 and 1900

Westernisms lost much of their popularity. Disillusioning treatment of Japanese at the hands of Occidental nations tempered the first enthusiasm for the civilization that, so rapidly, was being imported. A new demand arose for the conservation and development of Japan's own culture. Christianity, as representative of the culture of the West, fell under suspicion. Anti-Christian movements, somewhat similar to those more recently in China, arose to threaten the church and to slow its growth. In addition, it was widely asserted that Christianity was fundamentally socialistic and, therefore, dangerous to the state.

The third period, definitely entered after the Russo-Japanese War, has brought a more objective judgment of the Christian religion. The establishment in Japan of an independent church with no organic connection with foreign organizations aided this reappraisal. Christianity, thereby, was proved to be indigenous. It became easier to distinguish between its gospel and Western civilization. There has been even some effort to distinguish between Christianity in the Western ecclesiastical sense and Christ. Men, many of them prominent in the nation, arose to assert that they were Christians, but not church members; that they followed Jesus and proposed to continue to follow him, but not ecclesiastically.

At a recent anniversary meeting of the Japanese Bible Society Baron Sakatani, the mayor of Tokyo and a non-Christian, made an address. It was expected that his remarks would be of the typical mayorial order. But he astonished his audience with a Christian testimony in the course of which

he said: "For many years—save in those very rare instances when I have been ill—I have never begun a day without an intensive devotional period of Bible reading and of prayer."

With this reappraisal of Christianity there has come a new realization of its unique social significance for modern, materially-minded Japan. The gospel of Jesus Christ has worked in the life of the people. It is possible to trace to the influence of that gospel most of the significant movements that promise to temper that material-mindedness with spiritual considerations.

M. Zumoto, formerly editor of the Herald of Asia, insists that, despite the fact that ancient Japan was not wholly ignorant of the work of mercy, "it is absolutely from Christians that modern Japan learned organized philanthropy and social welfare work. The Buddhists are trying to emulate, but they only imitate. Or take the all-important question of the reconstruction of home and society. Divorced from Christian ideals and principles the work is impossible."

It is significant that at the time of the earthquake the government, despite a well-established and official Welfare Bureau, used the Christian Church and its members, wherever possible, as the nucleus for the work of relief. Asked for an explanation, the authorities merely replied: "Our greatest problem is not a matter of clothes and buildings, but of the spirits of the people. We can handle the first. We need Christianity for the last."

At this same time the city officials in Tokyo requested that Christian teachers be released from their work in order to go among the people, to lead

in the singing of Christian hymns and the reading of Christian literature, to the end that the morals of the youth of the city might be strengthened.

In an article recently in the *Christian Century,* Toyohiko Kagawa indicates his belief that "Christianity is common sense in Japan now. All the newspapers use Christian phrases, such as 'gospel,' 'baptism,' the 'passion of the cross,' and many others. Even the Water Level society of the former outcastes has adopted the crown of thorns as its symbol. Labor unions are singing labor hymns modeled after Christian hymns. . . . The Osaka Mainichi has just been running for more than thirty days a drama call 'Christ,' which tells the simple story of Jesus.

"All the women's magazines write about Christianity every month, and so everywhere, even in the mountain districts, Christianity is being spread through the magazines. But someone has said that the Japanese women are more Christian than the men, because they read more Christianity in the magazines. The primary school-teachers, in their all-Japan conference of November, 1927, passed a resolution stating that religious education must be the basis of primary school education, and in May, 1927, the women teachers of the primary schools in their national conference passed the same resolution. This attitude on the part of educators is in complete contrast with their former position. For decades they have been trying to eliminate religion from education altogether. Now the older intellectuals incline to religious thinking."

Thus Christianity, once held to be a material asset, is now regarded as a spiritual asset. The Christian

program in Japan is designed to extend this spirit-transforming influence.

That program, at its foundation, is a matter of personal evangelism. In Japan, as around the world, the basic test of the Christian gospel is the change that it works in the individual. When that changing power is lost the contributions of Christian organizations soon sink into insignificance. It is, moreover, precisely that ability to redeem men from an old life into a new that is establishing the leadership of Jesus Christ in Japan, where a nation is slowly awakening to the futility and peril of material success unleavened by spiritual values.

A missionary, traveling by train through northern Japan fell in with a young student who was working his way through Keio University. The conversation between the two quickly turned to religion. The student, it appears, had been in search of someone who could explain to him the "Unknown God" of the Christians. The missionary readily undertook the task.

Weeks later the missionary received a letter from the student.

"I was glad," it began, "when I heard you were a missionary, for I am earnestly hunting for Christ, and naturally wishing eagerly to have acquaintances with Christians to hear their religious experiences. The motive which made me to have interest, my craving for God is this, that is, I became unable to solve all moral problems and life questions. I am in such uneasiness that I cannot say the word 'is,' I can only say 'perhaps,' as, 'perhaps it may be right, or good, and so on.' This makes me feel very solitary. Who can dare say the word 'is' if he were a

person who have not faith? I think the word 'perhaps' is a burden that a man must bear on his shoulders throughout his life, so long as he is without God. What is right? What is wrong? What is happiness? No one can explain these meanings without God, I think. I have been seeking God for a long time in vain. What is it that I have to do to be saved?"

That last question is being raised with increasing insistence:

"What is it that I have to do to be saved?"

A Christian evangelist, itinerating along the northeast coast of Japan, came to the tiny town of Obata, a bleak, secluded fishing village. There were no Christians in the place. The local theater appeared to be the only place in which a service could be held. But before the place was hired the Japanese school superintendent came to the missionary with the request that the meeting be held in the public school. And at the appointed time most of the village—teachers and pupils and parents—were on hand. The missionary gave his evangelistic message. At its end the school superintendent spoke:

"It is a part of our duty as teachers to inculcate moral and ethical principles in our pupils. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that for this work we seem to be obliged to call upon outsiders. But the truth is that the lives of most of us who are not Christians are not strong enough to give support to the ideals that we might teach. The only alternative that I know of is found in the Christianity that you have heard this afternoon."

And that friendly hearing for the Christian's message is apparent throughout the country. Every

Sunday at Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo some two hundred young Japanese meet together in an early morning Bible Class. They include in their number business and professional men from the city as well as students. They come to listen to a message that has, as its sole purpose, the conversion of these men in the best old-fashioned sense to Christianity. Every member of that class during the year is faced by a personal appeal to make a Christian decision. And the week-by-week emphasis in the Bible study is such that few of those who come refuse the challenge.

It is this same interest that led, last year, to a request to the missionary at Fukuoka from the Imperial University there to deliver a series of twelve lectures to the student body on the vital elements of the Christian faith. The lectures were delivered, and, as a result, the missionary has now a nucleus of students who desire to "go further" in the study of this faith.

In Tokyo I went out to visit the great Christian student center as Waseda Imperial University. The director of the institution told me that during the previous week one of the deans of the school had come to him with this request:

"We are top-heavy in our work here at Waseda with technical and economic courses. We are, therefore, ready to establish a course in Christianity."

"You mean comparative religions," said the missionary.

"No," replied the Dean, "I mean a course in out-and-out Christianity."

This life-changing business, in fact, is perhaps most significant when it reaches to the youth of Japan. And this is accomplished by more than the

establishment of Christian schools. Up in the northern island of the Hokkaido, Japan's "Out West," in the capital city of Sapporo, there is an Imperial University. Fifty years ago, K. Kuroda, one of the greatest statesmen of modern Japan, was made governor of the island. He initiated a progressive program, established an agricultural college and, by invitation of the government, secured Mr. Cyrus A. Clark from New England, to direct it. Coming by boat from Yokohama to Hakodate, the governor said to Mr. Clark: "I ask you to train these rough boys of the Hokkaido to be leaders."

"That's what I propose to try to do."

"What is your plan?"

"There is only one way: by running a Christian college, and including Bible study with the agricultural courses."

The governor objected. There was widespread hostility toward Christianity. Such courses would hardly be tolerated.

"All right," said Mr. Clark. "I cannot undertake this work without the Bible."

"But why can you not teach Christianity indirectly by the influence of your personality?" the governor asked.

"Without Christ, definitely presented, my personality will mean nothing."

So it was finally agreed that Mr. Clark's Bible classes should be officially "overlooked." Bible reading, devotions, Christian hymns were made a part of the course in this government agricultural school.

Mr. Clark was able to remain in Sapporo but eight months. Only one class came under his instruction.

But at the end of that time nearly the entire class asked to be enrolled as Christians. A young missionary, M. C. Harris—later Bishop Harris—was called from Hakodate to baptize them. Among those in that first group was Doctor Sato, the present president of Sapporo University and probably the leading educator of Japan.

When Mr. Clark left, another entering class came to the school. These newcomers heard Christian singing as they went through the halls and, upon inquiry, found that the first class was "carrying on." The newcomers opposed the "foreign" religion. But the Bible classes continued. The opposition broke down. The classes grew in size. And that second group of students produced among others such notable Christian leaders in Japan as Dr. I. Nitobe, Mr. Kanze Uchimura, and Professor Miyabe, a first-rank Japanese botanist. At one time forty-five per cent of the professors in this Imperial University and twenty-five per cent of the students were Christian.

The leaven which Mr. Clark planted is still working in Sapporo. I visited the city and worshiped on Sunday morning in the Christian church. The building was crowded with students. They sang as only students can sing. They carried their own Bibles and followed, in them, the Scripture readings. And each young man, as he came to his seat knelt down for a word of prayer. These are to-morrow's leaders of Japan. It is of significance that, on their way to leadership, they have met with the person of Jesus Christ and accepted the guidance that he has offered.

It is important too that the work of evangelism there in Sapporo is continuing. The pastor of that

church, graduate and post-graduate of American universities, is making the Christian gospel an intellectually respectable, as well as a transforming factor in the life of the university. There is a Christian student center. A young American and his wife, trained for this work, have gathered around them a nucleus of Christian students. In their club building, hopelessly inadequate though it is, they have a gospel laboratory. In it they are giving demonstration of effective Christianity, personal and social, in the lives of these young men.

Surveying his first few months in Sapporo, this missionary wrote:

"Not a month has gone by since we came but some of our young people receive baptism. And in many cases where public alliance with the Christian cause is not possible we are conscious of the leaven at work in the spirits of our boys and girls. Japan is becoming a Christian nation, slowly but surely. The final product may not be just like an American Methodist, a German Lutheran, or a French Catholic, but lives are coming under the influence of Jesus' spirit and a nation's thoughts and conduct are being molded along Christian lines."

This Christian evangelism in Japan's great educational institutions has only begun. Its development waits upon an adequate vision of the importance of Christianizing, for the future, of the influence of that land. When that vision comes it will lead, inevitably, to the establishment of Christian student centers—such as that at Waseda and Sapporo—near every Imperial university and technical school.

I asked a group of prominent Christian laymen in Nagasaki what new contribution was required of

America for the Christianizing of Japan. Their reply was:

"Send out, each year, Christian lecturers who can go from university to university; who can answer questions; who can interpret their faith in the light of modern science, and establish the conviction that the Christian gospel is not an obstacle to learning but its fulfillment. If every year for a decade three outstanding spokesmen for Christianity could lecture for three months here, the mind of Japan would be turned to Christ."

The youth of Japan, however, are being reached most directly through Christian schools. The necessity for these schools is no longer constituted out of a statistical account of Japan's need for education. Literacy, there, is probably higher than in any Western nation. Japanese schools, from the technically pedagogical point of view, rank with the best in the world. The government is fully able to teach the people of the land to read and write and to figure. But there is a moral and spiritual education that often is not a part of a technically perfect pedagogical program. To face Japan's rising tide of materialism with that further education is the task of Christian education.

The Japanese minister of education, one of the nation's leading politicians and a non-Christian, recently declared before the National Christian Council:

"We stand in need of the thing that you Christians represent because of two obvious facts. In the first place, the people of Japan require the establishment of a spiritual emphasis in their lives. Those of us who watch, closely, the development of our country

tremble over this struggle between materialism and the higher idealism. On its outcome depends the future course of our history. In the second place, we need Christianity, in particular, because of its unique capacity to defeat materialism and establish, in its stead, the ascendency of spiritual values. Sixty years ago we felt that to be abreast of the modern world we must adopt the materialism and force of the Occident. Now materialism is running away with us. We look to you to bring about a transformation of our national outlook."

When plans were outlined for the establishment of a Union Christian University at Fukuoka, the chairmanship of the committee in charge was offered to a Japanese Viscount, one of the three men who wrote Japan's constitution. In accepting the post he said: "You know that I am not a Christian. But I know what Christian schools can do for Japan. I do believe in Jesus Christ. I accept this obligation, therefore, as an opportunity for service to him and to the nation."

The vital importance of Christian schools in the life of Japan can be understood against the background of testimonies of that sort. The schools, themselves, from a material point of view, are too inadequate to tell their own story. I attended chapel at Chinzei Gakuin, the Methodist Episcopal school, in Nagasaki. There were five hundred and twenty boys there—herded together in temporary quarters. Classrooms were no better than the chapel. But the real story of Chinzei is not a record of architectural deficiencies, bad as they are. The Chinzei that merits the backing of Christians was apparent, on that morning, in the reverence with

which the lads assembled in chapel joined in the devotional service, in the spirit with which they sang:

"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty,
Early in the morning our song shall rise to thee."

It is that Chinzei that one discovers also in the men who have gone out from the school. The pastor of the University Church in Sapporo is a Chinzei product, as are several other prominent Christian preachers and educators, both in government and in private schools. The procurator—district attorney—of Yokohama, and M. Oda, one of the prominent officials of the government of Korea, are among its alumni. These men are not only successful, but active Christians. Mr. Yamasaki, head of the Central Council of Korea, and probably the most generally trusted official in the Japanese government of that land, declared recently that:

"My success, I can see now more clearly than ever, is due to the Christian foundation which was built into my life Chinzei Gakuin."

The work of Aoyama Gakuin in Toyko and the newer boys' school in Hirosaki in the north is of this same fundamental nature. The theological school at Aoyama is preparing a qualified Christian ministry. It is no longer safe to allow untrained men to stand, in modern Japan, as interpreters of the Christian message. The men who go out from Aoyama have no less zeal because they have gotten understanding.

Just as critically important as these boys' schools is the work of the Christian girls' schools in Japan. Such institutions as Aoyama Jo Gakuin in Tokyo,

Kwassui Jo Gakko in Nagasaki, and the interdenominational Woman's Christian College in Tokyo are driving straight at the problem of preparing a womanhood that is fitted to stand in the midst of the modern life of this nation.

One of the outstanding leaders among the women of Japan wrote recently: "The only adequate protection against the dangers which lurk in this new freedom is the armor of religion. Free Thought, which has crept into modern education, is no real help; rather, it makes evangelization more necessary and at the same time more difficult than it was fifty years ago, before the advent of freedom. Japanese women of the present are no longer typical Orientals in heart and mind—they are women of the modern world; taking, unfortunately, the bad as well as the good."

All of these schools operate under severe handicaps of equipment and personnel. And the influence of Christianity suffers thereby. If it is essential, to the world-minded Christian, that the influence of Japan should be made Christian, it is necessary, for that undertaking, that Japan's Christian schools should be of the first rank. It will be difficult for Christianity, among educationally-minded Japanese, to occupy a higher status than its schools. Inferior Christian schools will tend to attach their quality to Christianity itself, and similarly with high grade institutions.

There is a third aspect to this program to Christianize the life and, thereby, the influence of Japan. The significance of Christianity in so highly developed an industrial state could hardly be confined to the work of individual transformation or the task

of reaching the youth of the land. There is an inescapable social obligation. It is conceivable that Christians could evade those most fundamental problems that concern the economic and social relationships of the people. But Christianity thereby would lose a considerable measure of its uniqueness. Christians, in Japan, have not side-stepped this question. But it is a deplorable fact that so many of their most effective efforts have been carried on outside and often without the active backing of the church. There is no adequate answer to this situation in the fact that the church provided the original source of inspiration for these individuals and their undertakings. The Christianity of the church in Japan, as elsewhere, frequently finds its severest test not in its power to inspire but in its courage to be identified with the social expression of its inspiration.

One of the monuments to Christianity in Japan is the modern labor movement. That movement—fittingly enough—grew from a Bible class. Twenty years ago the American Unitarian Association sent a missionary by the name of Clay MacCauley to Japan. He organized a small church in Tokyo and gathered together a group of young men. His own secretary was Bunji Suzuki, a student, then, at the Tokyo Imperial University. In this student group, under MacCauley's leadership, an Association for Investigating Social Problems was organized. In its discussion a plan developed for the organization of Japanese labor. Suzuki went to America to attend a labor Congress and there came into touch with American labor leaders. He returned and with the aid of other men who had studied the problem

with him in Doctor MacCauley's class he organized the Japan Federation of Labor. To-day Suzuki still directs the work of the federation. With the enfranchisement, in 1926, of ten million new voters the political influence of the organization and its opportunity to secure progressive labor legislation—long denied by the Conservative element in Parliament—are greatly increased. In the political leadership of labor, along with Mr. Suzuki, there is Professor Abe, who was a member of the first Bible Class with Suzuki and is now a member of the faculty of Waseda University.

Some of these social issues have been squarely faced by organized Christianity. The drive against organized vice, which has assumed very great proportions, was first begun within the Christian church. Its most aggressive leadership is still recruited from the Christian community. This is true also of the temperance movement. Japan's liquor bill is 1,342,900,000 yen (about $670,000,000) per year. The total loss of the recent earthquake duplicated every four years! Between 1915 and 1923, although the population of the country increased but 9 per cent, the sale production increased 49 per cent and the beer production 150 per cent. To cope with this situation and the evils that are an inseparable part of it, the National Temperance League of Japan and a number of less powerful organizations are actively in the field. The immediate task is educational, but probably the greatest asset in its success is the continuance of prohibition in the United States. Without organized Christian support this movement could not have started. Without continued Christian support it can hardly expect to continue.

The Christian church is likewise awakening to its responsibility in Japan's industrial centers. A comprehensive program is only in the making. But it is in the making.

In Nagasaki I went through one of the great shipbuilding plants in the famous Akunoura district. Here, on a little hill in the midst of the huddled, humble houses of the workers, a Methodist institutional church has been established. It is the only Protestant Christian work among twenty thousand people. There is no church—only a remodeled Japanese house which is made to serve a multitude of purposes. There are kindergartens, night schools, mothers' classes, girls' clubs, men's clubs, lectures, baby clinics. The Sunday school is the largest in the city. Here Christ's gospel is being brought to the people who were the first concern of his ministry. Organized Christianity that has no helpful gospel for them can hardly turn Japan toward Christ or, in the end, survive itself.

This, then, is the comprehensive ministry by which Christianity has undertaken to evangelize the heart, the mind and the living relationships of the Japanese people. In such a ministry there is promise that the material life of Japan, regenerated, may find an abiding spiritual foundation; that a nation which has grown in power may grow as rapidly in spirit. And more than that is involved. For the eyes of Eastern peoples are upon this land. For their direction it is imperative that Japan, before the world, should face toward Christ.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICA FIRST?

In the face of a wavering world there are still those who insist that "foreign missions should begin at home." Significantly enough, the eagerness with which many people oppose the establishment of Christianity abroad is no clue to their efforts to establish it at home. The real issue is usually one of interest rather than of geography.

But why not save America first?

There are three answers. The first of these is provided by New Testament precedent. There is hardly any easier escape in the twentieth century than there was in the first for the world commission that Jesus gave. Aside from the four Gospels, the New Testament is largely a record of the significant results that came because foreign missions—for those who knew Jesus—were an inescapable obligation. The foreign field, then, provided the laboratory out of which came the experiences and interpretations that finally established the Christian Church. To deny Jesus' call to foreign missions is, at the same time, to thwart his purposes for the world and to abandon the very foundations upon which the Christian Church is built.

There is a second answer to this question, Why not save America first? Such a program, whatever it might do for America, would be disastrous for Christianity. The maintenance of a vital Christian

faith requires the maintenance of foreign missions. This, it seems to me, is apparent for two reasons.

At the basis of Christ's message was a gospel of love. He expressed that gospel in an active concern for others, and the vitality, as well as the uniqueness, of that concern was in lack of discrimination between high and low, Jew and Gentile. There had been others to preach a gospel of love, and to practice it "among ourselves." It remained for Jesus and his apostles to preach and to practice that gospel without bounds. In that early Christianity was made vital in the midst of a self-centered world. And by that process has the vitality of Christianity been restored through the centuries.

In fact, Christian history is filled with the struggle to keep alive that unique quality of unselfish love. The spiritual strength of the church has lapsed or gained as it has emphasized "ourselves" or "others." But the danger that the church at this central point might pervert the gospel of Jesus has been real in every age, because in every age there have been those who prayed that ancient prayer: "O God, bless me and my wife; our son John and his wife; us four and no more. Amen."

And such a petition is no less a threat if the bounds that it puts to the gospel are those of the nation rather than of the family. National exclusiveness was characteristic of the religious outlook of the Jews. And their faith suffered the consequences. There are very modern illustrations of the disaster that is likely to follow when the Christian's first concern is given national limitations and the Christian's God converted into a distinctly national deity.

But, for another reason, vital Christianity requires the maintenance of foreign missions. From the first century, down to the present, the Christian faith has found restoration and enrichment in the lives of "new Christians" who have arisen on the foreign field. It was the missionary enterprise of Paul that developed a Gentile church and the Gentile church, free to take the gospel in literal seriousness, rescued it from the hampering influences of Judaism. The spread of the church into western Europe prevented Christianity from becoming merely an expression of the imperialism of Rome, and, at a later date, brought about its Reformation. In the present day Christianity suffers from too close association with the materialism that so largely dominates Western civilization. In Africa and Asia the native church is relatively free from this background. Already an influence is flowing from it into the West that is likely to respiritualize the Western church.

But even though the effect of a "Save America First" policy were less disastrous to Christianity, the program would remain impossible. The kingdom of heaven on this modern earth cannot thus be segregated. There are too many steamships and trains. Airplanes and wireless communication are developing too rapidly. Newspapers are too common and too widely read. Diseases can be quarantined, but not ideas and ideals. A Christian America, in the midst of a non-Christian world, could not be kept Christian. Paganisms could not be kept out, even though Christianity could be kept in. Whether in the future the world moves toward the Kingdom of Satan or the Kingdom of God, it is certain to move together. A single people nowadays can pro-

vide world leadership, but they cannot remove themselves *en masse,* from the stream of world progress.

Thus, it is not only the Christianization of the world but the revitalizing of Christianity that is involved in the future of foreign missions. Foreign missions no longer involves solely what Christianity may do for non-Western peoples, but also what the developing Christian faith among non-Western peoples may do for us.

The further significance for the Western church of the development of a vital Christianity abroad cannot be understood apart from the religious situation that prevails in the West. Here, and particularly in America, we are in a period of religious uncertainty. It is not the application of Christian ideals that is most seriously questioned, but the foundations of belief upon which heretofore these ideals have rested. The uncertainty at that point is of such proportions that many of the spokesmen for Christianity have been put on the defensive. Exposition, seems to be giving way to debate. There has been a flood of apologetic literature. Almost everyone, apparently, has had a try at the "restatement" of Christianity. There are shelves upon shelves of books which seek to "reconcile" Christianity with modern science in general, and in particular with all of its various branches.

This vast dialectic unquestionably has enriched the Christian faith. It has at the least adapted the Christian terminology to the jargon of our times and at the most indicated that the case for Christianity can be stated without violence to our present scientific temper. But in its fundamental task I believe this effort at forensic evangelization has failed. It

may have established men's belief in the intellectual respectability of Christianity. I doubt if it has re-established their faith.

For religious uncertainty, in the United States, appears to be giving way, not to belief but to indifference. This fact is evident not only in a falling off of the increase of church membership. It is apparent also in the lessened income of those organizations which have as their purpose the extension of Christianity at home and abroad and whose support, or lack of it, is something of a barometer of religious concern. Particularly, this religious indifference appears among thinking young people. The intellectual doubts of the younger generation often find intellectual answers, but their spiritual dissatisfaction, of which the intellectual questioning is only the most obvious indication, is seldom relieved. As a result they are going from uncertainty to unconcern.

Even among many groups of people who are definitely related to Christian organizations honest questions have been so frequently raised and have gone so often without fundamental answer that the tendency is toward indifference. This is especially apparent in regard to the relation of Christianity to other religions and, involved in that, the necessity for a program of Christian extension.

Within the last decade the West has been visited by a considerable army of the spokesmen for non-Christian faiths. Their arrival was timely. In sadness at our own religious shortcomings we have now grown friendly toward the excellencies of other religions with whose shortcomings we had long been familiar. It is to be hoped that we will not, again,

impoverish our faith by a neglect of God's revelation in the lives of men and women who have grown into his likeness in other soil than that which nurtured Christianity. Certainly, there are spiritual assets in the fact that, in this modern time, we have come to know of a God who has always been more than racially omnipresent.

But there is a vast gulf between tolerance and surrender. Paul, on the way to Mars' Hill was observant and tolerant. When he spoke it was in appreciation of the religion of the Athenians. But he made it unmistakably plain that their religion was no substitute for his own. It is a reflection of our own wavering convictions that an appreciation of the religious life of non-Christian peoples leads us so frequently to doubt the necessity for the extension of Christianity among them. Is it not likely that at the present time the world-wide business of establishing the supremacy of Jesus Christ and his ideals is slowing down because Christians have begun to doubt that Jesus and his ideals are supreme?

It is significant, moreover, that the addresses one frequently hears relative to the superiority of non-Christian religions are not broadcast among the missionaries. The data for their final refutation are too near at hand. These faiths, beautiful and inspiring as they often are, can be held to be sufficient for the world's need only when distance separates the conclusions from the material out of which to prove them.

The unique contributions of Christianity to the life of the world find their source, of course, in the fact of a unique message. There are certain particulars in which Christianity stands alone among the

great religions. These particulars, I believe, constitute the difference between a sufficient and an insufficient faith.

Fundamentally, the Christian message reveals to the world the Fatherhood of God. Jesus' most characteristic designation for God was "Father." He used the term some one hundred and fifty times in the Gospel record; and in the New Testament it is used three hundred times.

"Nowhere among the sacred scriptures of the world," writes Dr. Robert Ernest Hume, "is there to be found even an approximation to this wide and consistent usage among all writers of the sacred scriptures of Christianity of this simple, vital, intimate, feelingful, personal name 'Father,' used along with the more abstract term 'God'."

Jesus' revelation of a Father-God is the starting point for the conceptions and the experiences that make the Christian message regenerative in the life of the individual and of society. For one thing, it establishes the inestimable worth of the individual. God's attitude toward an individual, as Jesus revealed it, had regard neither for his race nor social status, but only for his need as a worthful individual. Since individual need often finds its source in distinctions of race and social position, the actual practice of the gospel of human worth led Jesus to do frequent violence to these man-made standards. And the makers of men's standards were incensed:

"Why are you," they asked, "eating with these tax-gatherers and notorious sinners?"

But Jesus, in the interest of his ministry, disregarded these attacks. He continued to observe those

customs which did not hinder his helpfulness and to violate those which did. He continued to associate with men regardless of their station, regarding only their need. He lived in fine denial of whatever, in custom or in creed, violated his ideal of the inestimable worth of the individual.

It is this emphasis that has made Christian progress and that constitutes to-day one of the unique contributions of Christianity to the world. Jesus' followers have not followed his example with singleness of purpose. They have often set up creeds and customs of their own which stand between themselves and the point of ministry. But the ideal has not been lost. It is at work with particular significance on the work field. There the common people—the outcaste of other faiths and the despised of Christian Pharisees—have heard the missionary's message with the greatest gladness. The gospel that he has preached to them is Good News; emancipation from a rejected state, entrance into a divine relationship.

And the missionary's program has indorsed this ideal. He has gone to the world's most backward peoples. He has seen past their cultural and mental disadvantages to the fact of the inestimable importance of their lives. He has disregarded the lot to which other men have consigned them, and has built hospitals and schools and churches for their healing and growth. His ministry, like that of Jesus, has been life inclusive, concerned with the state of men here as well as hereafter. It was inevitable, that, in such a process, individuals should be recreated and movements begun for the recreation of society.

But this recreation has not come because Christians have simply proclaimed the principles of the worth of the individual. The uniqueness of Christianity is not alone in the ideal, but in the person of Jesus as an example and an agency for its realization. I have no theological statements with which to prove that point. I set it forth because of the things that I have observed. In many places in the world field I met men and women who seemed to be living conspicuously righteous and serviceable lives. They came from many backgrounds—the African bush, Indian villages, the industrial centers of China. But their lives, so far as I could discover, had a common explanation in a common, strength-supplying acquaintance with God, brought to them by fellowship with Jesus Christ. It was possible, thus, for these men and women not only to believe in their own inestimable worth but to live inestimably worthwhile lives. This is not my assumption. It is their testimony.

But the Christian's unique message goes further than this. It reaches beyond the regeneration of the individual to the regeneration of society. In fact, the godliness of the individual finds its test, for the Christian, in his active concern in the creation of a godly society. This involves him in two related tasks; to lift men individually to a Christlike knowledge of God, and to bring them into a Christlike relationship with one another.

The mere assertion of these elements of uniqueness in the Christian message is hardly enough to establish their truth. Actual data are required, and these I have sought to set forth in the foregoing chapters. I hope that they are set forth clearly

enough to bring to the reader the conviction that, in gathering them, they brought to me.

I went out to the field a victim of the prevalent American uncertainty. It had been bred in me, as in many, by ignorance of the life of non-Christian peoples, lack of conviction of the power of Christianity, and an honest desire, above all things, to be tolerant. I was determined to eliminate "heathen" and "heathenism" from my vocabulary. I resented the "holier-than-thou" sentiments of many of our missionary hymns. It was definitely arranged that I should write a series of articles, upon my return, which would indicate something of the fundamental unity of all faiths and indorse the idea of their eventual synthesis.

But the articles were never written, "heathenism" went back into my vocabulary and the missionary hymns, for the most part, are no longer offensive. For that the newspaper game will have to shoulder a good bit of the responsibility. I was sent out to write what I observed. As a piece of reporting it was a large assignment. I went at it in the best newspaper fashion that I was able to apply—to see, to hear, and to ask. It was not made a condition of my going that I should change my mind. But it proved to be the inescapable consequence of the things that I saw and heard.

Some of those things I have described in this book. There are many others. They constitute, for me, not only a case for foreign missions but, as I have indicated, a case for the uniqueness of Christianity.

It occurred to me while writing this report that John the Baptist once sent a deputation to investigate the ministry of Jesus. When John's disciples

came to Jesus with their questions he might easily have replied with a discourse upon the comparative merits of his teachings with those of John. Instead he assigned the deputation to watch him at work and sent them back with the charge:

"Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: . . . the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."

With such vital statistics at hand debate was unnecessary. I believe that a lack of any first-hand contact with such vital statistics is largely responsible for the growing uncertainty among Western Christians. We argue what Christianity may mean because we are so unfamiliar with what it can do. The average Christians of the West are well walled against the disturbing spectacle of the world's need, at home or abroad. Their chief contact with it is incidental and vicarious—mediated through various "appointed agencies." Under such conditions it is not strange that men easily dispense with a faith in the transforming power of Christ's gospel; and that the ministry of the church so often centers about a discussion of Christianity rather than in its application.

Out where the missionary works the Christian gospel is a matter of transformation. People there are not comfortable. They are dying. Academic zeal is not an asset. The Christian preaches a gospel of redemption because he dares preach nothing else. He is called on daily not to defend Christianity but to test it.

This perhaps may account for the fact that many

practices almost obsolete in the Western church survive among these newer Christians. I recall a midweek prayer meeting in an isolated village of Korea. There were some five or six hundred people—the entire Christian community—in attendance. I wondered why they had come; why, in fact, they came like that to prayer meetings at every mission station that I visited. Perhaps it was because they were simpler people, or that there was nothing else to do; but neither explanation was satisfactory.

For one thing, there was enough to do, since this was an audience of farmers and the busy season was at hand. Many of them, moreover, had walked several miles to be on hand and would be obliged, when the meeting finished, to walk back again to their homes. They were simple, perhaps. But the Korean who conducted the service was a Doctor of Philosophy from an American university. The missionary I had known before he went to the field. He was trained in a normal, un-prayer-meeting atmosphere. Yet he had explained to me, as we came to the church, how he had instituted morning watch services among Christians and how enthusiastically the practice had spread. He was hardly prompted by simplicity or by an unawareness of the popular indifference in America to such devotional exercises.

I was left with one explanation. It is adequate, I believe, to account for this particular prayer meeting, and for the others, just as thriving, that I attended; for the class meetings, with testimonies, that are a part of the Sunday-morning services across the mission field; for the maintenance of the ancient custom of family prayers. These things are a result neither of the simplicity of the Christians

nor of their idleness. They are, rather, a personal necessity. In the midst of suffering and sorrow and spiritual despair Christians are daily conscious of need for the power which, in their experience, prayer and testimony bring them. They dare not, in fact, dispense with that power, because they cannot live aloof from the demand for its employment.

I believe enthusiastically in discussion groups, questionnaires, colloquia, and all the rest of the modern paraphernalia of intellectual ministry. But, of itself, this imposing technique hardly goes far enough. In fact it is difficult to see how the wavering faith of the Western church can be restored without some more active, personal participation in that life-changing business of Christianity which is already in operation on a mission field that extends from the shacks back of every Main Street to the farthest people across the farthest sea.

It is altogether possible that the Western church may be led to such a trial of its faith by the example of these newer Christians. If we hear their testimony, we may be helped to an understanding of our own religious need. If we share in their work, we may find an adequate answer to our own religious uncertainties. Foreign missions, to be sure, is an agency for the Christianization of the world. But it may provide an influence for the revitalizing of Christianity. As long as it contributes to either task the missionary enterprise—however reorganized and readapted—is indispensable.

Finally, what I have tried to write in this book is not an apologetic for Christian missions, but, rather, a description of human need and an account of Christian ministry. What I have seen, of need

and of ministry, has convinced me that "there is no other name given under heaven whereby men may be saved." However hard that saying, every effective missionary station provides some demonstration of its truth, and every surviving paganism across the world provides some challenge for its further demonstration.

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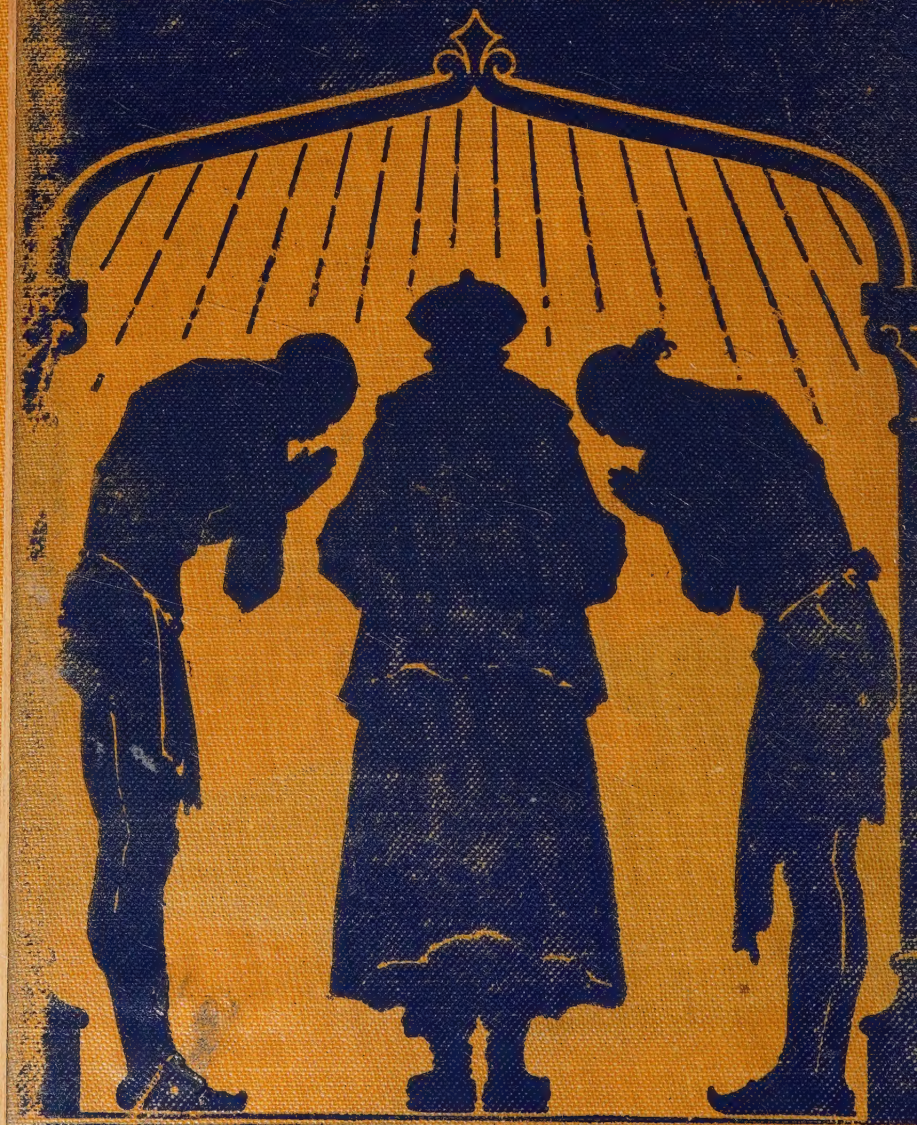

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